

MONEY & MARRIAGE BETTY MacMORRAN GRAY

THE NATION

JUNE 26, 1972

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The Sherrill
Periodicals Dept.
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JUN 23 1972

Homes for the Poor
THE WELL-INSURED SWINDLE
G. C. Thelen, Jr.

'Energy Crisis!'
THE INDUSTRY'S FRIGHT CAMPAIGN
Robert Sherrill

Televising the President
EQUAL TIME & THE NIXON STYLE
Stephen R. Barnett

Huey P. Newton: 'To Die for the People'
Bert Cochran

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LETTERS

church and taxes

Beltsville, Md.

DEAR SIR: *The Nation* [editorial by Carey McWilliams, Apr. 24] rightly called attention to the dangers to church-state separation, public education, religious liberty and a racially and religiously integrated society of the campaign to get tax support for parochial and private schools—a drive aided and abetted by shortsighted politicians pursuing sectarian and racist bloc votes. But a national campaign to safeguard church-state separation is more than just the ACLU can handle, and I say this as an ACLU member. . . .

What is needed is a national coalition of concerned religious, education, parents, taxpayers, civil liberties groups, religious liberty, other organizations, and the press to coordinate a national effort to show Nixon, Humphrey and other politicians that such aid is not only clearly unconstitutional but also radically contrary to the public interest and opposed by at least 60 per cent of our population.

Edd Doerr

expecting Dolci

New York City

DEAR SIR: In 1952, twenty years ago, Danilo Dolci first took up his work in western Sicily. His use of nonviolence and direct social action in attempting to deal with problems of exploitation and apathy has had important results and has attracted worldwide attention. Dolci has recently been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Dolci will visit the United States from September 26 through October 15. He will be in the Midwest from October 1 through October 7, in the East before and after that time.

Invitations for him to appear before campus or community groups are welcome. Previous tours have aroused increasing interest in his work and in its applicability to pressing problems which face our own society. The tour is sponsored by Friends of Danilo Dolci. Inquiries should be addressed to the chairman, Prof. Alfred McClung Lee, 100 Hemlock Road, Short Hills, N. J. 07078; (201) 376-8232, or to Ms. Joan Simon, 7 Gracie Square, New York, N. Y. 10028; (212) 288-0756.

Sumner M. Rosen

overanger

Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR SIR: It is interesting that in her review of Dorothy Evslin's *The Fortunate Sex* [*The Nation*, May 22], Barbara Harrison has ground her angry ax at the expense of Mrs. Evslin, who represents—what Miss (I assume) Harrison seems to detest almost as much as the self-centered family man—a well-adjusted married woman. . . .

Today it is fashionable to be angry, and alas, women of a most pampering culture must not be left out—this, at least, was the impression given me by this narrowly wrought, condescending (to current fashion) review. Mrs. Evslin's marriage is representative of the experience of women not only today but in generations that go back as far as the institution of marriage. Perhaps they are not, or should not be (by today's climate) a majority, but they represent success within the framework of the "will to love," which Miss Harrison admits to, though curtly postpones "until we are free." But Mrs. Evslin evidently is already free. . . .

One wonders how Mrs. Evslin and her husband (if I may assume here that her fulfillment is indicative of mutual fulfillment) have grown to acceptance and happiness within a relationship that is a "gold ring of servitude" to many. Miss Harrison, however, recoils from their relationship with

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EDITORIALS

'Decent Respect'

While the bulk of the destruction in Vietnam is the work of the Air Force, the Navy is doing its bit with both artillery and aircraft. Most of the devastation is concentrated on North Vietnam, an area considerably smaller than Missouri, that has no air force to speak of. Minor assistance is also being rendered by the South Vietnamese air force, using aircraft and munitions furnished by the United States, and flown by native pilots trained by the USAF. In a recent exploit of special renown in their own territory, the South Vietnamese dumped napalm on a village. Some twenty South Vietnamese soldiers and civilians were incinerated; others, including a naked little girl, were photographed fleeing from the flames but, *Newsweek* reports, "there was no relief: the gelatinous napalm continued to burn into their skin."

These are mishaps which Mr. Nixon no doubt regrets, but nothing will deter him from his sworn duty to further the interests of the United States as he construes them, and to enforce respect for the Presidency and its incumbent. To that end he has tripled the number of fighter-bombers in action and quadrupled the number of B-52 strategic bombers, each of which carries 30 tons of bombs, and which are now being used in close support of South Vietnamese troops. Our forces in Thailand are being increased and in mid-June number some 40,000, with another 42,000 Navy men offshore in sixty-five ships, including six attack carriers. The Chief is not bringing air units home; he is moving four Air Force and three Marine fighter-bomber squadrons from Danang to Thailand—a total of about 125 planes. The big Danang base will eventually be turned over to the South Vietnamese. Appropriate rearrangements are being made in Thailand, with one base reactivated and facilities augmented at others.

The punishment being meted out to the North Vietnamese is the literal application of Gen. Curtis Le May's prescription: "Bomb them back into the Stone Age." It is gratifying in other ways too. There could be no more convincing demonstration of American technological superiority than the "smart" bombs now falling on those Mr. Nixon has denounced as "international outlaws," fighting in what they regard as their own country. Simultaneously the Chief has seemingly cowed both the Russians and the Chinese, although the latter have issued their first sharp formal protest and, in Stockholm, infuriated him by denouncing the war. There may be a new element of risk in bombing raids within 20 miles of China's border. No targets are now off-limits and field commanders may pick and choose pretty much as they like. But so far things have gone well with the Chief, and by committing more than 1,000 combat aircraft to the task he has proved both his personal *machismo* and the national *machismo*.

One would not expect such resounding achievements to be without cost. The monetary cost we do not know, but it must be high. Some airmen have been lost and a few probably have been added to the Americans in North Vietnamese captivity—the latter have somehow been forgotten, except by their families. But there is another, less tangible cost, which may loom larger in the future. Nixon

has necessarily had to unleash the air generals who do his bidding: one of them in fact anticipated his Chief and bombed freely in the North, under cover of false reports of "protective reaction" strikes, even as Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho were planning to resume their talks. From a purely military standpoint, Gen. John D. Lavelle did the right thing: he was just premature by a few months. Nevertheless, as Rep. Otis G. Pike said, the General's forehandedness "raised a grave question of civilian control of the military." But the Air Force takes care of its own, especially when the offense is only one of timing and overzealousness, and Lavelle was retired with a reduction from four stars to three but no reduction in his retirement pay—\$2,250 a month. So far nothing has happened to the squadron commanders who must have known what was going on and presumably falsified the reports before they passed through Lavelle's hands. A mere sergeant squealed on them.

The threat in this situation is that some day an atomic bomb might be dropped by some forward commanders, embarrassing the President or even bringing on the nuclear war that almost everyone dreads. An immediate unfortunate effect is that public confidence in the armed forces is further eroded. The generals and admirals are not greatly exercised about that: there is not much that civilians can do to them.

Except one thing: they can still vote the Chief out of office. In fact, his ferocity is not to be regarded from only a psychological standpoint; it is also political. He has re-escalated the war beyond the imagination of poor old Lyndon Johnson, in the hope that it will not be a factor in the election. He is gambling on victory at the negotiating table, after he has taught the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong a lesson on the battlefield. He may get away with it. But the risk he is taking is not a small one. It may be that the quietism of the American people is deceptive, and that they will come down on the Chief in November and scorch him in his turn. It would be a sad day for Nixon, but the best thing that could happen for the United States. After all, the country started out with "a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind."

CAMPAIGN '72

Advice for the Old Guard

The barrage of unsolicited advice directed at Senator McGovern since the California primary is not without its comic aspects. A chorus of advisers, all of whom, of course, have only his best interests and those of the party at heart, urge him to "move to the Right" and "mend" his fences. It is amusing to hear many of these old-line politicians imploring McGovern to "broaden" his base when it is quite clear that his base is much broader than theirs.

In fact, a stunned and badly shaken Democratic establishment is seeking to preserve its position by making it appear that McGovern must now seek their support. If he can be forced to turn to them, then the rank and file can perhaps be induced to believe that the old power is still intact. McGovern does not need to be warned that the purpose of most of this unsolicited advice, which

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echoes loudly in the mass media, is to force him to make compromises and concessions that would shake the confidence of the constituency he has attracted—all as part of a desperate effort, even at this late date, to block his nomination. He does not need to yield to this pressure. He is in a strong position. The analogy with the Goldwater debacle of 1964—recalled to frighten the innocent—is entirely misleading. McGovern is out to broaden the base of the Democratic Party; Goldwater sought to narrow the Republican constituency. McGovern followed the primary route; Goldwater did not (although he entered and won the California primary). McGovern has put together the elements of a new coalition; Goldwater succeeded in breaking up the coalition that had supported Eisenhower. McGovern has created—as Goldwater did not—a remarkable organization.

From Virginia and Texas and Tennessee (see John Egerton's report from Tennessee below) comes word of how the existing old-line organizations have been superseded. In San Antonio key figures in the Democratic establishment did not bother to attend the recent, and most exciting, state convention. John Connally was junketing in South America for Nixon, but his son was there—in a chartreuse sport shirt, his hair in a long bob—as a McGovern delegate! The famous "unit rule" is gone, and a new breed of delegates, including many blacks, Chicanos, women and young activists, took charge in a most impressive and efficient manner. Of course the Old Guard that is being displaced in state after state should be treated with tact and consideration, but no concessions should be made that might endanger the new coalition McGovern has put together. Some touchy situations do require astute and tactful handling, such as the strong challenge flung down to the Daley delegates in Illinois, but even in that instance the new rules should be enforced if a mutually satisfactory settlement cannot be negotiated. In brief, the script which assumes that McGovern must have the support of the old men if he is to win is less credible than the one which says that these elements must make their peace with the new New Politics he represents.

* * *

The President, following the example of Sen. Henry Jackson, will not reveal the names of the donors who contributed \$10 million or more to his campaign between January 1 and April 7, when the new Federal Election Law went into effect. When he signed the law on February 7, Mr. Nixon made a point of praising it as a mechanism for "restoring public confidence in the electoral process." Now he has done what he could to undermine that confidence, in sharp contrast with the principal Democratic contenders (Senator Jackson and Rep. Wilbur Mills excepted), who have disclosed all contributions. But the public does not need to know the names of the anonymous contributors to the Nixon fund; it can be assumed that they are individuals who will seek and expect special favors, otherwise the President would have gladly listed their names. John Mitchell's suggestion that they wanted to be protected against charitable solicitations is ludicrous. It isn't the Red Cross, as Senator McGovern commented, that they fear. By his refusal to disclose their names the President has given us yet another illustration

of his conception of the obligation of moral leadership that goes with the office.

* * *

All opponents of school bussing declare themselves stalwart advocates of "equal educational opportunity" and "quality education" for all children. The announcement on June 3 that the Detroit school system is bankrupt, coming as Congress was enacting anti-bussing legislation and a Court of Appeals decision was reversing Judge Merhige's decision in the Richmond case, should put the anti-bussers squarely on the spot. State tests show that the Detroit schools, which are supposed to educate 291,000 children, two-thirds of them black, are inadequate by any accepted standards. Yet "forced layoffs" of teachers, not "forced bussing," is the order of the day. Everyone in Michigan—center of the anti-bussing frenzy—calls for "equal educational opportunity," reports Charles Wolfe, the Superintendent of Schools, but no one is willing to help the city's already most "unequal" and virtually "separate" school system. No more timely or appropriate (given the location) example could be offered to prove that a segregated school system, whether segregated by law or custom, will never provide equal educational opportunity. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., the new executive director of the Urban League, in denouncing "the escapist rush" to duck the bussing issue, draws the right conclusion: the President's advocacy of a moratorium on bussing really amounts to "a moratorium on human, legal and constitutional rights." The sad plight of the Detroit schools and the enactment of the anti-bussing moratorium measure, by which a bipartisan majority sought to shelve the issue in an election year, should at least silence the anti-bussers for the rest of the campaign.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Report from Tennessee

Nashville

On May 4, Tennessee Democrats (with a boost from crossover Republicans) gave George Wallace 68 per cent of the vote in that state's Presidential preference primary. Wallace, the self-appointed champion of the "average man," swept to victory in every county.

Since then, a coalition of "average people" who aren't in the Wallace camp have captured control of the Tennessee Democratic Party. As a result, the state's forty-nine-member delegation to the national convention in Miami Beach will include twenty-four women, sixteen blacks, and sixteen delegates under 30. State law requires the delegates to vote for the primary winner for at least one ballot, but the law provides no penalty for those who disregard it, and in all likelihood some of them will. Only one of the forty-nine delegates has expressed a willingness to support Wallace beyond the requirements of the state law.

As far as preference goes, twenty of the delegates are leaning to George McGovern, eleven to Hubert Humphrey, eight to Shirley Chisholm, two to Wilbur Mills, and the other eight are undecided.

The situation is not as confused as it seems. While Wallace and his forces were concentrating on the primary, groups of women, blacks and young people were organiz-

ing at the precinct level. Under the party's new rules, they moved successively—and successfully—through the precinct and county caucuses, the Congressional district conventions, and finally, on June 10, through the state convention in Nashville. The losers all along the way were Tennessee's Democratic Party regulars—the old pros who have ruled the party for decades. In the past, they could have held the state convention in a steam bath at the Men's Club. In 1968, for example, the ruling clique sent a delegation to the Chicago convention that was 91 per cent male, 89 per cent white and 100 per cent over 30.

Most of the party regulars are outside the Wallace camp—practically, if not ideologically—because the Alabama Governor has risen to prominence as a renegade Democrat, and that is anathema to party loyalists. But Wallace, as the driver of the anti-bussing bandwagon, is extremely popular in Tennessee, and he won the primary by default when all the other Presidential contenders conceded the state to him without a fight. While the old pros were staggering from that blow, the "New Politics" coalition was preparing the knockout punch. Both the Wallace forces—for the most part political neophytes themselves—and the regulars were thus caught by surprise in the precinct caucuses, and they could only stand by helplessly while the new coalition, armed with brown-bag lunches and Robert's Rules of Order, taught them an elementary lesson in the new math.

At a press conference before the Congressional district caucuses last month, Nashville Mayor Beverly Briley seemed to speak for his colleagues in the oligarchy. "I've worked hard for the party," he lamented, "and now I feel left out."

So two strains of protest in the Democratic Party—a conservative one personified by Wallace and a liberal one generally identified with McGovern—scored back-to-back victories in Tennessee. No matter what happens to the political fortunes of Wallace and McGovern, Tennessee Democrats have a new party—and the party's over for the Old Guard.

JOHN EGERTON

Project Wagon Wheel

In this issue (p. 816) Robert Sherrill suggests that the public does not know all that it should about "the energy crisis," which is being so artfully manipulated at the moment by an assortment of special interests. A brief exchange in the House on June 7 which went unnoticed by the press lends support to this contention.

Rep. Teno Roncalio (D., Wyo.) offered an amendment which would have stricken a \$10.5 million line item from the Atomic Energy Commission's budget. The item had to do with Project Plowshare, involving the use of underground nuclear detonations to stimulate the release of natural gas in tight geological structures. Roncalio, speaking on behalf of constituents in Sublette County, wanted the funding held up for a year while "we assess the direction the project is taking." He got no support and his amendment was rejected.

Roncalio's constituents were apprehensive about Project Wagon Wheel, a subsidiary undertaking of Project Plowshare. They live within 15 miles of the Wagon Wheel site, where five shots, spaced about 500 feet apart, are to be fired at intervals of a few minutes. This project, like

others in the Plowshare experimentation, is to be financed with AEC funds in conjunction with private interests, in this case El Paso Natural Gas. Earlier tests, known as Rulison and Gas Buggy, are said to have demonstrated the feasibility and safety of the larger scale Wagon Wheel.

There may be seismic effects, and not only at the time of the blasts; aftershocks may occur for some three weeks. While these latter are likely to be annoying rather than serious, the initial shocks are estimated to be potentially destructive—between 5 and 6 on the Richter scale. Then there is the possible contamination of the underground water basin in the neighborhood of the Upper Colorado River.

All these hazards, as would be expected, are depreciated by the AEC, but much of what the commission undertakes or promotes is highly controversial, and the agency's reputation for candor is hardly impeccable. Wagon Wheel supports Sherrill's contention that the public lacks reliable information on the long-term question of energy supply. According to *The Wall Street Journal*, Interior Department studies indicate that "nuclear fractioning" could recover 317 trillion cubic feet of gas that are beyond reach with conventional techniques. That is more than all the proven U. S. gas reserves and could provide the nation with gas for fifteen years at present rates of consumption. But there are complications. Shale oil interests note that shale beds lie close to the surface, above the sandstone formations where natural gas is trapped. One official of a shale oil company is quoted as saying, "We have conservatively calculated the value of the recoverable shale oil alone to be 100 times greater than the value of the gas." Detonations designed to recover gas might damage tunnels and surface facilities related to shale oil development.

The Nation is not in a position to referee such disputes. The fact that they exist does, however, suggest that we may be rushing into programs, decisions and commitments on the basis of inadequate information and without knowing who is to get what. One cause of uneasiness is that the AEC's role is equivocal: its responsibility is to function as the regulator, the guardian of the public interest; but it is also the entrepreneur, the promoter. Is it, then, wise policy to push ahead with a project which raises serious questions involving the public interest—questions that have not been fully explored in open hearings? There is the more reason for caution when, by every indication, conflicting private interests are involved. All this supports Sherrill's belief that the "crisis" in energy is about controls and prices and production, not about possible future scarcity.

We suspect that, as far as the public and Mr. Roncalio's constituents are concerned, there are more spokes to Wagon Wheel than the media, and the AEC, have revealed.

Secrecy vs. Information

That always useful Representative, William Moorhead (D., Pa.), who makes a practice of supplying the press and the public with timely information on important subjects, has done it again.

This time he had a particularly good idea: to contrast what the government spends for secrecy against what it spends for information. As a first approximation, \$126 million is what it costs to operate the government's secu-

city classification system for the Department of Defense, the Department of State, the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—the four agencies which proliferate the bulk of classified documents. Figures compiled by the General Accounting Office show that these four agencies spend more than \$126 million on secrecy. The Office of Management and Budget listed the annual expenditures of the same four agencies for public information programs as \$64 million. Taking these figures at face value, secrecy expenditures are double the expenditures for keeping the public informed.

But that is not the whole story, because the \$126 million is only part of the total cost of hiding information. The GAO experts who were assigned to the job of ferreting out information which, by its nature, is not easy to secure, had to rely on assumptions, extrapolations and other inexact techniques, and in some cases could not develop estimates at all. Nor does the figure of \$126 million include the large sums defense contractors spend to comply with secrecy regulations, which costs are passed on to the government in the procurement contracts.

It is one of those upside-down situations. The more we spend on secrecy the less information we get, and the less information we get the more we are victims of classification—much of it inexcusable on any valid basis. Moreover, it must be taken for granted that some of the information we do get is self-serving and tainted.

From time to time noises are made in various quarters about cutting the secrecy complex down to size: much of it is unnecessary and, like the information which does get out, has only a protective function for the officials in control. A certain proportion of the effort that goes into reducing secrecy comes under the head of “ritual noises”—those who are vocal on the subject may have no real intention of doing anything to curb the evil.

Mr. Moorhead has made a start in the right direction, and other members of the Congress should join him.

The ‘Prison Beat’

“The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons,” Dostoevski wrote. If so, then what happens in prisons should interest the media, and not only when there is a massacre, as at Attica nine months ago (thirty-three inmates and ten guards killed) or when a George Jackson is shot to death within the walls of San Quentin. Instead of such spasmodic attention, there should be systematic coverage of day-to-day life in jail. A significant section of the population is to be found there and, even if they are not of interest to the advertisers, they should be of more interest to the editors and reporters than an equivalent number outside. In seemingly quiet times, these misdemeanants or felons can tell a reporter not only about their grievances but when injustices—imagined or real, but mostly real—are building to the flash point.

For those reasons, and others, the prison beat—as that admirable organization, The Fortune Society, has steadily insisted—is not the least important on a newspaper or broadcast news bureau, and an alert editor will operate accordingly. He will have on his staff an investigator/re-

porter who knows and understands something about prisons and prisoners. In the past, even a well-equipped reporter found it hard to get inside a prison and talk to the inmates. It is still not easy, but the difficulties are diminishing, largely as a result of the “prison rights” movement which got under way in the 1960s, as an offshoot of the civil rights movement. Moreover, the courts are moving into this situation. On May 16, Federal District Judge John T. Curtin ruled in Buffalo that, under normal conditions, state correction officials must permit newsmen to interview willing inmates. Judge Curtin’s decision was the result of a suit filed by a coalition of some of the country’s top reporters in March 1971, prior to the September uprising at Attica. Perhaps if journalists like David Burnham and Tom Wicker of *The New York Times*; Donald Singleton of the *Daily News*; Mary Breasted, Nat Hentoff and Jack Newfield of *The Village Voice* had been able to talk at length with the two Attica inmates, James Brown and James Carter, who joined with them in the suit, the slaughter at Attica could have been averted.

Another case involves the right of *The Washington Post* and its reporters to interview inmates in federal prisons at Danbury, Conn. and Lewisburg, Pa. Judge Gerhard Gesell held that the prison authorities could not justify a blanket refusal and ordered them to set up reasonable procedures by May 11. The government immediately asked for a stay on the order. Judge Gesell denied it, and was upheld by the Court of Appeals. The stay was granted by Chief Justice Burger, with dissents by Douglas, Brennan and Marshall. The case is now headed for a full review by the Supreme Court.

With these concurrent movements gaining momentum, it would be a good idea for the Associated Press and UPI to set up a small team of reporters to cover American prisons systematically at all levels, down to taking a look now and then at local prisons in small towns, where as yet no outsider knows what is going on except when a prisoner hangs himself.

Edmund Wilson

Edmund Wilson was a hard man to categorize (it must have been a satisfaction to him) because, in his time and place, there was no category for him. We have had scholars and critics, historians, novelists, poets and dramatists in some profusion and of considerable distinction; Wilson, at one time or another, was all of these, but he transcended his particular pursuits and gave them unity by being always a man of letters. And when you have called him that, you at once find that you cannot name a contemporary to place by his side.

From the start, he called himself a journalist, and it is true that the bulk of his great output appeared first in one or another journal. But it seems probable that Wilson was using the term in a deeper sense, as a way of calling attention to his unswerving preoccupation with the social background of whatever intellectual, creative or political episode had caught his imagination. He had also that supreme reporter’s gift, a useful curiosity: one that anticipates the richness and relevance of the object to be investigated. And he had the energy to master the subject

his imagination found for him. Typically, he found his most suggestive clues in language itself, and if the tongue were one he did not know, he immediately set himself to learning it. Journalist, then, in the sense that his interests were vivid and entirely unspecialized; but man of letters, because he related whatever he examined to the significant current of human activity.

Wilson was never closely identified with *The Nation*, as at various periods he was with *Vanity Fair*, *The New Republic* and *The New Yorker*. However, he wrote for this magazine over a period of some thirty years, and the breadth of his contributions is a measure of his grasp. He defended the critical writings of Edgar Allen Poe (while quite seeing their neurotic aspects) as though the man were a colleague in need of a sturdy friend. Years later, he dismissed Tolkien's world of fantasy/foolery for the child's stuff it is—or more accurately he rapped the knuckles of the distinguished crew that was blowing into Tolkien's sails. He turned mycologist to discuss the cult of the mushroom, which the Wassons made fashionable with their massive volumes in the late 1950s; the subject has rather fallen out of currency, but the witty and allusive essay Wilson devised from it is as pungent as when it appeared fifteen years ago.

An excellent example of his method and energy is "The Marcelins—Novelists of Haiti," which *The Nation* published in the issue of October 14, 1950. Wilson had evidently stumbled upon one of their early books, and recognized that, almost alone, they were Caribbean writers immersed in their own culture (the proper form until they appeared had been to ape European models), made himself master of the archaic and twisted French of the island, went there to see and hear for himself, looked into voodoo, delved into family records and the social circumstances from which the novelists sprang and, in less than

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer, *The Nation* will not appear on the following dates: July 3, 17, 31. August 14, 28.

3 magazine pages, distilled a culture and celebrated the brothers who embodied it.

Probably his most often recalled *Nation* piece was the essay on Edna St. Vincent Millay, which appeared on April 19, 1952. Wilson had loved Millay, and he says so, making it clear that he loved her for more than her poetry; clear also that he was scarcely the only young man of New York in the 1920s who so loved her. It would not do to paraphrase Wilson's portrait of Edna Millay as a poet and a woman; it is one of the most compelling brief biographies written in this century. One should note, however, that through her story, and his, he wove the whole background of what America was like for bright and open young people in those days. Wilson wrote more ambitious pieces and more controversial ones, but he never demonstrated more vividly his powers as reporter, man of letters and human being.

In one respect, Wilson was never a reporter—you could not give him an assignment. We tried, and so doubtless did many others, but it almost never happened that what interested the editor simultaneously interested him. He could not be diverted, and one awaited his proposal. For that reason, his journalistic works reflected a consistency of judgments and values unique in contemporary journalism; for that reason, also, he could bring them together into a series of books that constitute a deeply studied, openly opinionated but ultimately compassionate verdict on the half century in which he flourished.

TELEVISIONING THE PRESIDENT

EQUAL TIME & THE NIXON STYLE

STEPHEN R. BARNETT

Mr. Barnett teaches law at the University of California, Berkeley, and specializes in the mass media.

Two legal doctrines govern the use of television by the President and his opponents. One is the "equal opportunities" law, popularly known as "equal time," which will be discussed here; the other is the FCC's "fairness doctrine," to which a second article will be devoted. The equal-time law applies only to candidates for office; when a station or network permits one candidate to use its facilities, it is required to afford "equal opportunities to all other candidates for that office." The requirement is subject to four important exceptions added by Congressional amendment in 1959. These exempt the appearance of a candidate on a "bona fide newscast," a "bona fide news interview," a "bona fide news documentary," and as a participant in "on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events."

The FCC has ruled that a person is not a candidate under the equal-time law until he has announced his candidacy. Thus the law had no application to President Nixon until January 7 of this year, when he released his letter to the Secretary of State of New Hampshire. That explains the flurry of Nixon television appearances in the two preceding weeks, recalling the frenzy of cigarette commercials on the last day they were allowed on the air. It also explains why, during the Dan Rather interview of January 2, Mr. Nixon stopped just short of announcing his candidacy for re-election.

The FCC has also ruled that in determining the office for which a candidate is running at a particular time, the nominating process in each party must be considered separately. Thus Mr. Nixon at present is a candidate only for the Republican nomination for President. If a broadcast appearance by him prior to the Republican convention invokes the equal-time law, the only opponents who

can take advantage of it are other candidates for the Republican nomination, a field limited until recently to Congressman Ashbrook and now apparently empty. After the Republican convention it will be Mr. Nixon versus the Democratic nominee, and the various minor-party candidates for President, as far as the equal-time law is concerned.

Examining the equal-time law as it applies to the television appearances of Mr. Nixon this year, one finds a matched pair of FCC decisions perfectly designed to buttress the President's strategy, which combines a distaste for news conferences with a predilection for other kinds of appearance. On the one hand is the 1964 news conference ruling. In September 1964 the FCC ruled (by a vote of 4 to 3), and has since reaffirmed, that the broadcast of a news conference held by a President while a candidate for re-election is not exempt from the equal-time requirement. (At issue is only the complete broadcast of the conference; excerpts could still be presented on regular newscasts under the "bona fide newscast" exemption.) The President's news conference is not exempt, the FCC said, because it meets neither of the two prerequisites which appear in the legislative history of the 1959 amendment. Unlike programs such as *Meet the Press*, the news conference is not "regularly scheduled," and its format and content are not subject to the exclusive control of the network. "Thus, the candidate determines what portion of the conference is to be devoted to announcements and when the conference is to be thrown open to questions." (The candidate also determines, the FCC might have added, which questioners to recognize and whether or not to allow follow-up questions.) The FCC's decision on this point was plausible but not necessarily correct. The two prerequisites were indeed stated by the Congressional sponsors of the 1959 amendment, but in contexts far removed from the Presidential news conference (the concern was to prevent a local broadcaster from contriving a "news interview" with a favored candidate while denying equal time to his opponent). The conclusion that a Presidential news conference is a "bona fide news interview," which seems more in accord with common sense, was not legally precluded.

In any event, the FCC was on weaker ground with its further ruling that neither is the broadcast of a Presidential news conference "on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event." The FCC argued, first, that news conferences could not be exempt because debates between Presidential candidates, though equally newsworthy, are not exempt. The conclusion about debates is well accepted, as evidenced by the recent Court of Appeals ruling that the networks could not stage a debate between Senators McGovern and Humphrey, even on a "news interview" program, without giving equal time to Congresswoman Chisholm and the other candidates. It does not follow, however, that the exemption must be denied to the Presidential news conference, an institution rooted in the President's office rather than his candidacy. The FCC further argued that to recognize Presidential news conferences as "bona fide news events" would mean that a broadcaster, "in the exercise of his good faith news judgment, could cover the speeches, press conferences, indeed any and all appear-

ances of a candidate without bringing into play the equal opportunities requirement," and would thereby in effect repeal the equal-time law for all candidates for all offices. It would not be impossible or unreasonable, however, to distinguish between Presidential news conferences and those held by lesser officials throughout the land, not to mention "any and all appearances" of any candidate.

While thus interpreting the equal-time law with respect to the Presidential news conference, a television format Nixon does not favor, the FCC has provided a counterpoint ruling on the format he likes best. That is the prepared speech—a block of fifteen or thirty minutes, in prime time, which Nixon requests and routinely receives from all three networks and uses to deliver his considered views on a subject of his choice. The scheduling, format, content and every other aspect of the presentation are entirely prescribed by the President; in particular, as the FCC observed in characterizing a series of such appearances by Mr. Nixon, "the President entertained no questions before, during, or after the speeches." We have had from Mr. Nixon, during the present year alone, the March 16th speech on bussing, the speeches of January 25, April 26 and May 8 on the war in Southeast Asia, and the June 1st speech to Congress. We can expect more.

With Nixon an announced candidate for re-election, the question arises whether his speeches are subject to the equal-time requirement, as his press conferences would be. The striking answer, under existing FCC precedents, is No.

The FCC has two precedents on this issue, one each from the last two years in which a President stood for re-election. During the 1956 campaign, as late as October 31, President Eisenhower went on radio and television to make a speech on the Suez situation. The FCC ruled that the networks were not required to afford equal time to Adlai Stevenson and the minor-party candidates. The equal-time requirement does not apply, the commission said, "when the President uses the air lanes in reporting to the nation on an international crisis."

In the 1964 campaign, President Johnson took to the networks on October 18 to deliver a speech on two international events of the previous week—the deposition of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union and the first nuclear test by "Communist China"; a few Presidential remarks on the recent British election were included for good measure. A complaint requesting equal time for Senator Goldwater was duly filed with the FCC (the person filing it was Dean Burch, then chairman of the Republican National Committee, now chairman of the FCC). Acting less than a month after its press conference ruling, the FCC rejected the complaint, holding that the broadcast constituted "on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event." The commission made much of the fact that Johnson's delivery of the address "had been recommended by the National Security Council" (brushing aside evidence that the Johnson for President Committee had first sought to purchase network time for the address). It emphasized that this speech, like the one by Eisenhower in 1956, concerned "specific, current international events affecting the country's security . . . news events of an extraordinary nature." The FCC also relied on a statement made by Senator Pastore as floor manager of the

1959 amendment. Unless bona fide news events were made exempt, Pastore had argued, "If the President of the United States were a candidate for re-election he could not stand up in front of the American flag and report to the American people on an important subject without every other conceivable candidate standing up and saying, 'I am entitled to equal time.'" The FCC's decision was affirmed, on October 27, by an equally divided Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court, acting on October 28, declined to review the decision, over the dissents of Justices Goldberg and Black.

Given Nixon's unprecedented reliance on the speech format, the issue can be expected to arise this year whether such television appearances by candidate Nixon are to be held exempt from the equal-time law, as were those by Eisenhower and Johnson. Indeed, it has already



arisen. Congressman Ashbrook asked the networks for equal time to reply to Nixon's March 16th speech on bussing (Ashbrook wanted to argue "in favor of the alternative Mr. Nixon so lightly dismissed, a constitutional amendment"). Sure enough, the networks refused the request on the ground that the broadcast "was on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event." Ashbrook in early April was demanding prompt replies from CBS and ABC and promising to take the case to the FCC. On June 1, he took the case to the FCC. The resulting decision—assuming Ashbrook follows through now that he has withdrawn from the race—could be an important test of the two precedents, and deny Nixon, at the height of the fall campaign, the advantage enjoyed by Eisenhower and Johnson.

Whether a Nixon speech qualifies as a "bona fide news event" could depend, of course, on the circumstances. Given the two precedents, lawyers and judges and FCC commissioners can have a field day with the issue. It might be argued, for example, that the speech must be a "news event" in the sense that the President is announcing governmental action rather than merely discussing issues or events. On this theory, Nixon might have qualified for the

exemption with his mine-dropping speech of May 8, but not with a routine defense of his Vietnamese policy, such as that of April 26. The theory may seem fearsomely provocative—the more momentous the action, the more certain the exemption—but in any event the distinction appears to have been rejected by the FCC in 1964. When Senator Goldwater argued that the events discussed in the Johnson speech "were well known to everyone two days before the broadcast," the FCC replied that the broadcast was still a "spot news event" because it "express[ed] the United States Government's policy in relation to those events" and "advised other nations as to that position."

The test may be, then, whether the events discussed or announced in the speech are "specific, current international events affecting the country's security," or "news events of an extraordinary nature," as the FCC said was true in 1964. But if that is not to be a *carte blanche*—what international event does not "affect the country's security," especially if the President says it does?—it presents the FCC and the courts with a difficult and uncomfortable task of line drawing. Presumably domestic news events could qualify, and perhaps last summer's speech announcing the wage-price freeze would have met the "extraordinary" test; but what about the second or third Nixon speech on the economic program, or the speech announcing the Supreme Court nominees, or the March 16th speech on bussing, or the June 1st speech to Congress (an occasion that was given, perhaps not inadvertently, the special patina of a "news event" by convening a joint session)?

Another possibility is Senator Pastore's view that the President should get the exemption any time he "stand[s] up in front of the American flag and report[s] to the American people on an important subject." Since that is a fair description of almost every TV speech by Mr. Nixon, it would apparently authorize the President to continue through the fall campaign his familiar pattern of pre-empting prime time for such an address on the average of once a month, without the networks incurring any obligation to give equal time to his opponents. True, even the Pastore test would presumably deny the exemption to a Presidential speech on the campaign stump, but if both Eisenhower and Johnson were able to find pretexts for nonpartisan "reports to the nation" at the height of the fall campaign, one would expect Nixon and his managers to be no less resourceful.

While various reasons may thus be adduced for concluding that a particular television speech by a President-candidate is or is not a "bona fide news event," the whole exercise is open to question. First it must be said that, as far as the FCC is concerned, decisions in this area may turn not on reasoned distinctions at all but on the political loyalties and dependencies of the commissioners. The danger is inevitable when a commission like the FCC, whose members are appointed by the President for terms of seven years or less, is called on to make decisions that affect the political fortunes of the President and his party far more immediately than do those of any other administrative agency. But the danger seems especially acute at the present FCC. Of the four Republicans

on the seven-member commission, three are Nixon appointees with highly political backgrounds. Chairman Dean Burch not only managed the Republican Presidential campaign of 1964, but has agreed to stay on at the FCC through the November election—according to *Broadcasting* magazine—“at specific behest of Administration to keep lid on political-broadcasting conflicts.” Richard Wiley came to the attention of the White House when he worked in the Nixon campaign of 1968, and Charlotte Reid was a member of Congress until her recent appointment to the commission. The fourth Republican, Robert E. Lee, originally appointed by Eisenhower, is a long-time Nixon associate who, as reported in *Broadcasting*, desires reappointment when his present term expires in 1974, something he is unlikely to get unless Nixon is re-elected.

Indications of partisanship aside, the FCC is institutionally unsuited to sit in case-by-case judgment on Presidential speeches. It is not only unrealistic, but unseemly, to expect such a commission in effect to overrule the President, and publicly embarrass him, by deciding that a particular Presidential address was insufficiently important, unduly political, or otherwise lacking in whatever attributes may be required of a “bona fide news event.” The FCC’s willingness to make such a decision is further reduced by the financial burden of providing equal time it would place on the networks, whose interests customarily command the commission’s deference. Even the federal courts may hesitate to rule against the President in such cases; that is suggested, for example, by the Supreme Court’s refusal to take the Johnson-Goldwater case in 1964, despite the tie vote in the Court of Appeals.

A clear and uniform rule therefore seems desirable. One such rule would defer to the President’s judgment, according exempt status to any speech which he says is important to the nation’s security or to some other national interest. This, in fact, is essentially the approach the FCC has taken in its two decisions. But it will not do. The equal-time law provides no exception for a candidate who is the incumbent President. If the President’s use of broadcast facilities to address the public is itself a “bona fide news event,” simply because he claims to speak as officeholder rather than candidate, the exemption swallows the rule. Such a result would be inconsistent, by the way, with an FCC ruling in 1956 that a spot announcement by President Eisenhower kicking off a Community Fund drive required equal time for the opposing candidates. The incumbent President’s conduct of office cannot be separated from his candidacy for re-election. It is inevitably a central issue in the campaign, and no small part of that issue involves his handling of “international crises” and other urgent matters that might readily be said to justify television addresses to the nation.

Exemption for Presidential speeches seems especially questionable when placed alongside the FCC’s ruling that news conferences are not exempt. The rulings dovetail to enhance the re-election prospects of Mr. Nixon, who leans heavily on the one and apparently abhors the other. Other Presidents—as, for example, Eisenhower and Johnson in the past—while likely to seek an advantage in the last-minute exempt speech, may also enjoy news con-

ferences and find them politically beneficial in an election year. Nonetheless, the FCC seems wrong in both its positions. While speeches by a President-candidate should not be exempt from the equal-time law, news conferences should be.

Admittedly, there are arguments of fairness and practicality to support the refusal to exempt the news conference. Most Presidents would derive a competitive advantage from such an exemption, and the networks would be unable to redress the balance by offering an “equal opportunity” to the President’s major opponent, even if they were willing to do so. For the opponent’s press conference presumably would not be exempt—as the debates between Senators McGovern and Humphrey were recently held not to be—and would provoke equal-time demands from all the minor candidates, which the networks surely would not be willing to satisfy. This problem would be removed by enactment of the bill, now before the House after passing the Senate, that would repeal the equal-time law for the Presidential campaign, as was done in 1960, and thus clear the way for TV debates between the major nominees. But the White House is organizing Republicans in the House to oppose the measure, and Nixon—who likes debates even less than news conferences—is expected to veto it if it does pass.

With the equal-time law likely to remain in effect, the argument for exempting the Presidential news conference starts from the fact that it is plainly a “news event”—as demonstrated, for one thing, by the attendance of a great many newsmen from all over the world. But it is something more. It is—or was, before Nixon killed it—a vital part of American democracy. Its essential purpose is not, as Herbert Klein claims, “to transmit information from the President to the people.” The President can accomplish that purpose equally well through other channels of communication. (Of late, those other channels have also been drying up. *The Wall Street Journal* reported on April 28: “Nixon retreats increasingly into seclusion, consulting only a few trusted aides. . . . Less and less information emerges from the White House. . . .”) The essential purposes of the news conference are to transmit the questions and concerns of the people to the President, to prevent the President from secluding himself from those questions and concerns, and to compel him to respond to them publicly and directly, without the massive filter of the White House public relations apparatus. The purpose is also to have the President communicate to the people, not only the information he selects on the subject he selects but the additional information, the explanations and clarifications, that questioning may elicit. The Presidential news conference is the only institution we have to serve these functions. While the British and Canadian Governments have their question periods for the Prime Minister in Parliament, we block that course with our doctrine of “executive privilege,” whereby even the President’s assistants refuse to testify before the Congress. The Presidential news conference is also our only mechanism, between quadrennial elections, for rendering the President directly accountable to the people.

In all these respects the news conference stands in contrast to the speech, where the President does all the talking, has complete control over content and format,

and hears and responds to questions from no one. Whatever may be said about the President's control of his news conference—the point made by the FCC, rather ironically, in denying exemption—it is far from the total control that exists for a speech. The President must, after all, listen and respond to questions from the press. This function makes the Presidential news conference not only a unique and vital institution in our government but also a “bona fide news event.”

The period affected by the FCC's press conference ruling is being revealed for the first time this year. (In 1964 the ruling was not issued until September 30. Between that date and the election Johnson held one press conference, which was not broadcast. What he did broadcast, on October 18, was the speech the FCC declared exempt.) Almost the entire election year is involved. This will be true if the incumbent President wants his name on the primary ballots and thus announces his candidacy early in January, as Nixon did, and if he has opposition in the primaries, as has been the case in 1972 and 1968. Of course, this year proves to be not much of a test, since Nixon has not held a televised press conference since June 1, 1971. But the ruling replenishes his battery of explanations. It will enable him to continue through the November election his refusal to face the press and the public. And in the future, the ruling will deprive the public of news conferences even by a President-candidate who, unlike Nixon, does not desire to scuttle the institution.

It is true that Presidential speeches on television also serve a public interest, and that application of the equal-time law would ordinarily preclude such appearances by a President-candidate. But in a real national crisis—a

Cuban missile crisis—the networks ought to give free time to the President whether or not they would have to give it to his opponents as well. Short of such unusual cases, the public needs press conferences from the President more than it needs speeches. Not only does the press conference serve a vital purpose not provided by a speech but it can also serve the same purpose as the speech. If the President has what he considers an important message to convey to the public over television, it is not unreasonable that he be limited, during his announced candidacy for re-election, to delivering it as the opening statement at a press conference. This could readily have been done—and arguably with a considerable gain in public enlightenment—in the case of Nixon's bussing speech, or his speeches on Vietnam, or even his mine-dropping speech. Except in a rare crisis, a President's refusal to entertain questions about his actions or policies—the position Nixon has now resolutely assumed—seems even less warranted than the overclassification of documents, the assertions of “executive privilege” by officials as important as Henry Kissinger, and the other symptoms of a tightening, imperial secrecy in the executive branch.

There is a need for decisions this year, either by the FCC or the courts, reversing the FCC's positions on the status of Presidential speeches and news conferences under the equal-time law. The decisions are needed before the campaign reaches September or October, the period when such cases have arisen in the past. The FCC is now engaged in an overall re-evaluation of its political broadcasting rules, which it has promised the Court of Appeals to complete by “late spring or early summer.” If the commission does not rectify the present unhappy anomaly in its law, it may be hoped that the court will. □

THE ECONOMICS OF SUMMITRY

Internal Strains in the Kremlin

MARGARET MILLER

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London.

The flood of comment on President Nixon's visit to Moscow has focused on external matters—slowing down the nuclear arms race, cooperation in space, trade and the like. Little has been said about Russia's internal problems, particularly its economic problems, but these must be constantly in the minds of the country's present rulers. After the Khrushchev interregnum, they took over an economy still bearing the basic imprint of the man who had catapulted backward, agricultural Russia into the industrial age.

There was a kind of savage simplicity about the methods Stalin used to accomplish this centuries-old historical ambition. In planning, arbitrary political decisions took the

place of realistic economic calculation. Fulfillment was insured by force, backed by terror. Millions of unlettered peasants were drafted into towns to work in the new factories; millions of small farmers were dragooned into giant collective farms, and had the fruits of their labor taken from them by the state at cost, or even less. Labor being the sole source of value according to Marxist doctrine, factory managers received their capital as nonreturnable grants from the state, and their materials and equipment through the state supply system. Quantity of production and implicit obedience to orders from above were the criteria of success. Living standards were lowered to a point unprecedented even by Russian standards.

Stalin's successors discovered soon enough that, although a great industrial machine could be built up by using his extensive methods of securing high growth rates, it could not be run without changing over to intensive methods. There were no more reserves of unskilled but docile labor to be drawn from the countryside, and with the

birth rate plummeting to West European levels, labor shortage became chronic. The new generation of educated workers did not respond to moral exhortation unaccompanied by material rewards. In agriculture, the disappearance of "free" arable land forced the rulers to recognize land values and acknowledge the need for intensive care and cultivation. A continuation of Stalinist exactions could only have completed the physical ruin of agriculture, and intensified the apathy and inertia among farm workers. Irresponsibility afflicted industry, because the vertical chain of authority in the "command economy" robbed managers of initiative or drove them to meet their quotas by irregular means. State allocation of the means of production engendered a degree of waste and extravagance that was intolerable, given the scarcity of capital and the exhaustion of all the easily accessible sources of raw materials.

The purpose of the Brezhnev-Kosygin reforms was to correct all these physical and psychological distortions, and prepare the economy to function rationally in the new age of worldwide technological revolution. Former economic indicators were restored—interest on capital, rent for land, rational pricing of materials, realistic rates of depreciation, quality and salability as the measure of success. More capital, more fertilizers, more machinery were pumped into agriculture; extensive land improvement and irrigation schemes were adopted. Farmers were paid more for their produce. "Capital-deepening" rather than "capital-widening" was enforced throughout industry, along with a restructuring which aimed at promoting higher growth rates in the industries making the greatest contribution to technical progress—electric power, chemicals, machine building and others. The decision to raise living standards, taken at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party in March 1971, involved a further restructuring, to channel the necessary resources of capital and labor into the light and service industries so gravely neglected under Stalin. In recent years Brezhnev has insisted particularly on the need to accompany practical measures with the inculcation of new mental attitudes—personal initiative, personal responsibility, alertness, boldness, in place of apathy and indifference.

Soviet economists constantly discuss and evaluate these changes. Here are some of their findings.

They see scarcity of labor as a long-term problem. In the period between 1961 and 1970, 14 million new workers were drawn into industry from members of the able-bodied population doing domestic work or working on private plots in agriculture. These sources have dried up, and all requirements for additional labor in the ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) must be met from the natural increase in population, estimated at only 1 per cent per annum. To ease inevitable shortages it is vital to speed up existing trends: the mechanization of industrial processes, especially in ancillary branches; the retraining and redeployment of workers made redundant by technological progress; persuading pensioners and housewives to take part-time jobs; insuring that vocational training schools raise their "output" of specialists to 23 million by 1975, a great advance over previous Five-Year Plans.

Obsolete industrial equipment is being replaced far too slowly; the rate is only 2 to 3 per cent per annum. In the

metal industries it should be at least 25 to 30 per cent; in building, 60 per cent; in textiles, more than 30 per cent. This lagging pace jeopardizes the ambitious increases of labor productivity planned for 1971-75, holding it down to one-third or one-quarter of what could be achieved if new machines were installed. The same factor is at least partly responsible for the extravagantly high capital intensity of Russia's extractive industries, which absorbed 40 per cent of the nation's working force and 25 per cent of the total capital investments, while showing a strikingly low production rate in relation to capital.

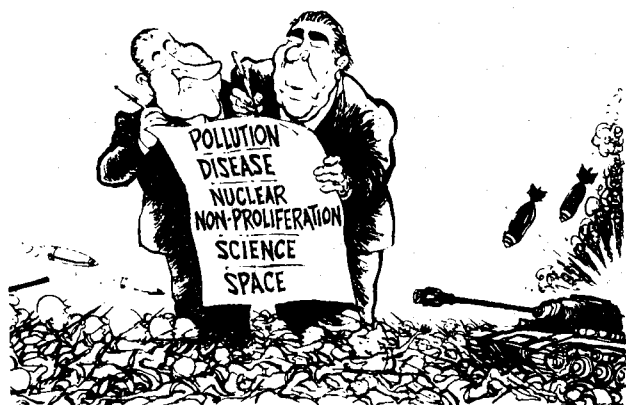
The improved organization of labor is called for constantly in official speeches, but it depends on better standards of industrial management, which in turn means more computerization. Figures on computer production in the USSR are closely guarded, but reliable sources in the West place Soviet computer stock in 1970 at about 10 per cent of the American level (USSR 5,000; U.S. 50,000). Annual output of computers in the former country is planned to rise to 30,000 by 1975, but that will not surpass American achievements either in quantity or quality.

Consumer goods and services were cruelly repressed in the pre-reform era, and the current plan calls for their output to double. Since real incomes are scheduled to increase by 31 per cent in the same period, plan fulfillment in the area of consumer goods is essential to soak up the greater purchasing power. The economists were at first satisfied that the physical restructuring to favor the consumer sector was off to a good start. Between 1961 and 1975 growth charts (actual and planned) in Group A industries (producer goods) showed a fall of 15 per cent as against a gain of 10 per cent for Group B (consumer goods).

The picture was less encouraging a year after the meeting of the 24th Congress. Speaking in March 1972, Brezhnev admitted that the building trades had not completed the number of new factories planned to produce consumer goods, nor had the machine-building industries supplied such factories as had been constructed with the equipment required for them to come on stream as scheduled. Quality was not improving to the degree that had been hoped, and stocks of unsold goods were piling up in warehouses, among them footwear, garments and knitwear. Throughout the year the Soviet press kept up a steady flow of complaint on the performance of the consumer goods sector. "Progressive" forms of trade, such as self-service stores, were still too few, because industry did not supply the necessary packaging and equipment. In 1971, a meeting of the Supreme Council was told that the quantity of consumer goods produced by heavy industry was "insignificant," and that some important ministries, including those responsible for machine tools, motor vehicles and chemicals, had neglected their duty. Market research and informative advertising were not sufficiently developed to bring buyers and sellers together, even when suitable commodities existed.

The failure of agriculture to respond to the new stimuli has caused the greatest concern. The overexpenditure of labor on the land is a serious drain on shrinking national labor resources. Writing in 1971, one economist

gave the percentage of the employable population absorbed by agriculture in the USSR as 29, compared with 3.5 in Great Britain, 6.5 per cent in the United States, and 7.7 per cent in Canada. America has completed the process of industrializing and modernizing agriculture; it is only beginning in the Soviet Union. An important factor is the state of the roads. In the United States practically all farms are on hard-surface roads, or close to them. In Russia "roadlessness" is a problem, as it has been since Czarist times, and the slow movement of food to the cities destroys vast quantities of produce every year. In the matter of equipment, agriculture is a long way from parity with industry. Although the amount of capital employed per farm worker increased six times between 1960 and 1969 in absolute terms, industry is still twice as well equipped as agriculture in terms of basic productive funds per worker. That throws doubt on Brezhnev's claim in his



Oliphant, Denver Post

speech to the 24th Congress that agriculture would draw level by 1975. Disproportions in the development of different branches of industry also create difficulties for the farmers. The flow of fertilizers has been allowed to increase more rapidly than the supply of transport to carry them to the fields, of buildings in which to store them and machinery to apply them to the soil.

Nothing in the above review can be taken to indicate that the economy of the USSR is threatened with collapse. It does reveal the stresses imposed upon a great country by its need to compress into a handful of years changes that could well occupy decades, and which involve an acute problem of priorities, as well as a departure from deeply rooted doctrine. Inevitably, such a situation creates doubt, confusion, even ignorance of what the government wants, in the minds of people at all levels, from ministry officials to manual workers.

Government spokesmen angrily defend the state monopoly of foreign trade and the central control over price fixing, while in the same breath calling for more flexibility in the running of the economy, a greater responsiveness to consumer demand. Soviet industrial managers increasingly complain that the greater freedom in decision making they are supposed to enjoy is nullified by the behavior of their superior bodies, who continue to issue orders on matters concerned with day-to-day operations, change planned tasks without prior consultation, fail to supply needed materials, cream off into the state budget the major part of the

enterprise profits instead of leaving them to be used where they were generated, as intended by the reforms.

A state law promulgated in 1967 permits collective farms to set up their own industrial enterprises, to process their own produce or manufacture goods from local raw materials. But a farm chairman in the Moscow area who did this with notable success and greatly to the benefit of his farm, was kept in prison for nearly a year without trial, while a furious controversy raged as to the propriety, in a Socialist society, of farms undertaking industrial work at all, and on top of that "offense," paying high wages to farm members engaged in the enterprise, who otherwise would have been without occupation during the long winter. A state farm director in Kazakhstan paid out 2 million rubles in one year to private building gangs, "disguising" the amount in the farm's accounts, so as to insure the construction of necessary buildings, a school, a hospital, a palace of culture. State construction bodies had neither the materials nor the skilled men to do the jobs, and without them his young workers would have drifted off to other farms or into the cities. Local party officials knew what was going on but looked the other way.

In spite of Brezhnev's repeated attacks on "bureaucratic resistance" to the new ideas, it continues to be a powerful factor, even at the most sensitive point in the government's program—narrowing the technological gap between Russia and the advanced capitalist countries by insuring that innovation will proceed at the highest possible speed. A number of "middlemen" firms grew up and for a time succeeded brilliantly in helping to solve this problem. Working on a small scale, with a limited permanent staff, they made specific contracts for each task they undertook, their remuneration being an agreed one-time payment according to the achieved economic result. They drew the main body of their staff from senior and junior members of scientific research institutes who were willing to work in their spare time. But they made powerful enemies among finance organs, whose objections were mainly ideological or based on grounds of "Socialist morality"—the consulting firms were evading state control, inflating the total planned wages fund, encouraging specialists to think too much about money. The protagonists of the movement pointed out, with reason, that such "arguments" amounted to no more than a blind determination to preserve the *status quo*, without regard to changing economic needs. Nevertheless, by the summer of 1971, the objectors had managed to close down three out of less than a dozen such firms.

As so often before in Russia's history, its leaders are faced with the task of trying to do too much too quickly. Stalin thought he could solve the problem by political means alone. His successors must meet the pressures of inexorable economic forces in a different and more complex age and must yield before the emergence of consumer power among their own people. Their supreme needs are for substantial technological aid from advanced industrial countries, and a relaxation of international tension sufficient to allow the diversion of sizable sums from defense to civilian uses. To anyone who follows internal events in the Soviet Union closely and continuously it was no surprise that the summit took place as planned. It would have been astonishing if it had not. □

THE WELL-INSURED SWINDLE

G. C. THELEN, Jr.

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Washington

"Everybody is guaranteed something except the people," Gale Cincotta, Chicago housewife and neighborhood organizer, was telling some Senators about the government's four-year-old home-ownership program for the poor. After seven days of subsequent hearings, the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee found out that its witness from Chicago was right: the government has guaranteed profits for the big-city real estate interests who have stuck low-income families with dwellings often fit only for the wrecker's ball.

Speculators, mortgage company officers, title insurance executives and bankers had a cynical story to tell the subcommittee: competitive pressures have led to misrepresentations, kickbacks and payoffs in the sale of used houses at exorbitant profits. The focus of the hearings was New York City, but there is ample reason to believe that the pattern of relationships there is repeated in Newark, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and other cities that have been plagued by housing scandals.

In outline, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) swindles have worked as follows: speculators invade a racially changing neighborhood, coaxing or frightening white home owners into selling cheaply; they then apply cosmetic rehabilitation to the houses, gain an inflated FHA appraisal of the property's worth, then sell to low-income, minority families who can't afford the upkeep. Indictments charge that FHA appraisers were sometimes bribed and that the poor sometimes connived with speculators to get false credit ratings for mortgage eligibility. When repair costs mount, the families abandon the houses. The government is forced to pay off the mortgage holders, then demolish or rehabilitate the homes.

Ronald G. Yelenick, attorney in charge of the East New York Legal Services office, has spoken about the situation in Brooklyn:

It has been the experience of a large number of low-income families, purchasing homes with FHA mortgages, to find serious defects in the property once they take possession. The most common deficiencies include faulty or incomplete plumbing, leaky roofs, flooded basements, cracked or falling plaster, faulty or inadequate electrical wiring, rotten or infested wood and faulty or incomplete heating systems.

It is a widespread practice for either real estate agents or private mortgagees (mortgage companies) to bribe or otherwise induce appraisers and inspectors to overlook items of repair or otherwise inflate the actual value of the property. Since FHA has no practice of actual inspection of these properties prior or subsequent to their certification, a substandard house is in effect certified "up to standard" and the property is significantly overvalued.

Consequently, when most of these persons buy a home, they are really purchasing a disaster, one which is not

only personal, but which spreads throughout the community. For example, in the East New York-Brownsville community there have been over 1,500 mortgage foreclosures during the period 1968-71, primarily on two-family houses. This means not only a loss of 3,000 housing units in an area that already faces a critical housing shortage, but means a further deterioration of the neighborhood and continued spread of urban blight. After foreclosure, these houses are tinned up and left standing vacant. They are subsequently broken into, vandalized, stripped of fixtures, piping, etc.; and left to become death traps for children, fire and health hazards, and breeding places for crime and addiction.

The speculator and the unprincipled real estate agent are easy targets for blame in this tragedy, but their operations would have been impossible if government agencies, mortgage companies, title insurance firms, credit-reporting services, bank lenders and final investors had not made their "deals" possible.

Consider mortgage companies, the firms that nominally originate FHA mortgages on the speculators' houses for ultimate resale to institutional investors. The antitrust subcommittee was told that until a few weeks ago every major mortgage house in New York City extended high interest loans, typically at 24 per cent a year, for the speculative purchase of houses destined for resale to low-income families. The cash-short speculators would have been out of business without this capital source.

The city's second largest firm, United Institutional Servicing Corp., alone extended \$6.5 million of these interim loans through a subsidiary corporation between 1968 and 1971. The figure for Inter-Island Mortgagee Corp., New York's third largest house, was \$1.4 million in 1971. Inter-Island's president, Stanley Sirote, offered the standard defense of the practice: "We only did it originally out of the necessity to compete. Everybody in the business was doing it" because speculators channel their mortgage business to firms that favor them with interim financing. The FHA, on the eve of the Senate hearings, ordered the "spec" loans ended in New York.

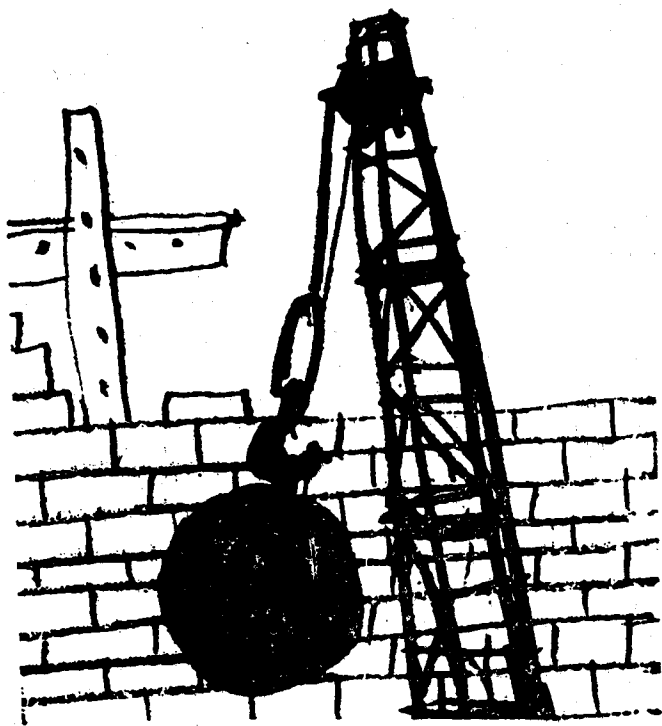
The conflict of interest was apparent. The mortgage companies didn't get their "spec" money back until a deal was closed. The firms are responsible for convincing the FHA that a transaction is sound—that the buyer's credit is good, his job steady, the house in good repair. "Employees' money was protected by shoving deals through FHA approval," commented subcommittee counsel Jack A. Blum (the loan money was often put up by mortgage company officials personally). It is probably no coincidence that savings and loan associations and neighborhood development groups complained that the FHA dragged its feet on their mortgage applications but gave the mortgage houses fast approvals.

The mortgage companies got their speculative loan money from banks, such as the Chase Manhattan, where the firms deposited in interest-free accounts the tax and insurance payments made by home owners whose mort-

gages they held. Richard Marcus, executive vice president of the Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Co., testified that banks and savings and loans require title insurers also to maintain accounts in return for the institution's title business. Mortgage companies often designate banks where the title companies must deposit funds, Marcus said. The lines of credit to the mortgage companies are good business for the banks. The loans are secured and carry an interest rate slightly above prime.

The ties between speculators and mortgage firms are stronger than speculative money alone. John Morales, a former speculator, testified that he routinely "tipped" the officials who expedited his deals between \$5 and \$25 per transaction. The recipients included the paper processors at the mortgage companies, closing attorneys, title company lawyers, and mortgage company inspectors who supposedly certified that repairs had been made on properties. All these people were in a position to safeguard the interest of the buyer and the government.

Irving Roider, a property inspector for United, accepted several thousand dollars in gifts from real estate speculators whose properties he examined for soundness. He explained in an affidavit that most of the money was "for various services rendered to brokers on my own time." United's former president, Bernard Roth, routinely received pay-



ments from speculators when the deals on their houses were closed, according to Gerald Canavan, a closing attorney for the firm. Canavan said Roth was responsible for deciding how much the speculators would have to pay United out of the profits they received, in return for the firm's arranging the mortgage with the FHA. The payments to Roth were not recorded in the company's books, Canavan testified.

None of this wheeling and dealing would have been possible if institutional investors had checked what they

were buying from mortgage houses, but they didn't. As a result, the presumably embarrassed holders of mortgages on houses where the poor were bilked include Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., Soft Drink Workers Union, Boilermaker-Blacksmith National Pension Trust, Prudential Insurance Co., Metropolitan Life, Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America, AFL-CIO staff in Washington, Cakebakers Union Retirement Fund and the New York State Employees Retirement Fund. They all stand to make windfall profits on foreclosures, as will be explained later.

Other possible checks on the speculators failed, according to the testimony. The FHA appraisals were either made "through the windshield" by full-time government employees or by real estate operators on a fee basis. Some of these operators were themselves speculators. Title insurance companies didn't forward information to FHA that might have alerted the agency to irregularities. The Federal National Mortgage Association, a government-chartered corporation that buys FHA mortgages, failed to notify the government routinely when a mortgage house began showing a high foreclosure rate.

The FHA still hasn't tightened its appraisal checks, according to the General Accounting Office. The GAO found that FHA supervisors are spot-checking only 1 per cent of appraisals in Detroit—and then usually from the front seat of their cars. Housing Secretary George Romney had promised a 10 per cent recheck rate last year.

The only people who lose money in this complex chain are the purchasers and the FHA insurance fund. It works this way: a speculator typically would buy a house in New York for \$12,000, put in \$500 worth of worthless cosmetic repairs, then sell to a poor family for \$20,000, almost all of it FHA mortgage. Out of his \$7,500 gross profit would come overhead expenses and whatever fee or points he paid the mortgage company for financing. The mortgage company would sell the government-guaranteed paper to an institutional investor, often at a deep discount of 6 to 8 points. (A point is 1 per cent of the mortgage amount.) At foreclosure the FHA covered everyone's bet except the purchaser's, paying off the \$20,000, less any small down payment and monthly installments. The investor would sometimes make a windfall profit—he might have paid only \$18,400 for the mortgage—an 8 point discount. The Federal National Mortgage Company, holder of much of the inner-city paper, told the subcommittee it broke even or made a small profit on foreclosures.

The almost unused \$65 million mortgage pool of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn demonstrates the degree of real estate cynicism. Franklin Thomas, president of the neighborhood development corporation, has explained why only \$13 million of the pool has been used:

Local real estate brokers were advised that, in light of the fact that our purpose was to encourage home ownership and repair, all unnecessary fees were being discouraged. Thus the mortgages were being offered at par by the lenders (no points charged the purchasers or seller), and in cases where there was refinancing the broker would not be entitled to a fee for merely referring an applicant to Restoration. The brokers objected strenuously to this provision. Several fruitless meetings were

held between ourselves and the brokers in an effort to resolve the differences that had set in. We pointed out to the brokers that they would still earn their broker's fee on sales of property and that the ready availability of home credit on reasonable terms should terminate the sales market.

Notwithstanding our efforts, the brokers remained hostile to the program and generally refused to cooperate

with it. They brought neither their purchase nor refinance matters through our mortgage program. Instead, they continued to steer their customers to the various funding companies where substantial discounts had to be paid by owners or purchasers in order to obtain mortgage money. This practice on the part of the brokers became a significant obstacle and had a direct negative bearing on our mortgage pool's volume. □

'ENERGY CRISIS!'

THE INDUSTRY'S FRIGHT CAMPAIGN

ROBERT SHERRILL

"With the story we have to tell, it is nothing less than a tragedy that we are not better heard, understood, and recognized as the vital consumer and environmental improvement force that we, in fact, are."

—G. J. Tankersley, chairman, American Gas Association, and president, East Ohio Gas Company.
October 18, 1971

Washington

Where did the "energy crisis" come from? To a large extent, it came out of the hats of the oil and gas industry's propagandists. Some are more candid than others in peddling their message, none more so than Wilbur Cross, senior editor on the publicity staff of Continental Oil Company. Cross recently sent to a select portion of the membership of the Society of Magazine Writers a packet containing "sample" articles and "suggested topics," and a letter in which Cross offered to help them write industry-oriented articles.

Conoco was willing to go all the way, wrote Cross. "We'll even do typing, editing and proofing for you, if you like! And in certain instances we'll arrange transportation" on Conoco planes that happen to be going in the right direction. This ingenious proposal was first disclosed by Morton Mintz in *The Washington Post*. When I called Cross to get more details, he spoke as one sorely puzzled. Mintz, he recalled, "asked me if I was ghosting pieces! Why, I thought he must be joking." What in the world gave Mintz such an idea? (Ten of the fifty writers he approached, Cross said, requested some of his material. I did, too.)

Among the "background texts, outlines and subject ideas that we have been developing," said Cross, was, you guessed it, the energy crisis. "There's been a lot of interest in that." Indeed there has been, but the interest is not usually pointed in the right direction. A crisis of sorts really does confront the country; it is not yet one of supply, however, but rather one of control. It is probably safe to say that within the next five years either the public will seize control of its own energy supplies and see that they are dispensed in a sane and thrifty fashion, or the controls will slip forever into the hands of the landlord industry itself.

To achieve the latter results, industry propagandists have suddenly "discovered" an energy shortage in the United

States and, like Cross, they keep telling us about it in press releases and in magazine articles and newspaper ads. Some of them are marvelous flights of imagination. For instance, General Electric recently placed a full-page ad in a number of national magazines (see p. 68 of the April 24th *Newsweek*), showing a lump of coal displayed in a museum case. The ad's headline: "THIS VITAL RESOURCE IS BECOMING EXTINCT. GENERAL ELECTRIC IS WORKING ON ITS SUCCESSOR." The opening paragraph: "Experts say all the economically recoverable coal in the U.S. may disappear in 80 to 150 years. The world's supply in 300 years. And gas and oil before then."

The ad was a smooth pitch for public and government support of the fast-breeder nuclear power reactor, which is in trouble with the environmentalists. Unfortunately, GE didn't identify its experts. They must not be the ones we talked with over at the Bureau of Mines, who said that, even based on projected consumption in the year 2000, and assuming also that only 50 per cent of the known coal reserves is recoverable, we would still have enough to last us well into the millennium. "We've got so much bituminous coal," one Bureau spokesman said, "that it's really impossible to figure out how long it would last."

Always accompanying the ominous warnings one finds a commercial hand groping for the consumer's pocket. When the petroleum propagandists sound off, their object is quite obviously to panic us (and those feeble representatives of "us," Congress and the Federal Power Commission) into freeing the industry from any controls—production controls, environmental controls, price controls.

In that packet from Cross was a paper by Conoco's chief executive officer, John G. McLean, which counseled that the only way to relieve the fuel shortages is to take "aggressive action to decontrol natural gas prices." He also urged that the Justice Department's antitrust office "encourage, rather than restrain" fuel monopolies—a term which McLean considers "sheer nonsense."

Another text sent along by Cross was headed with a theatricality that has become common these days: "Will Your Children Have Enough Fuel in the Decades to Come?" Even though the National Petroleum Council estimates that about 55 per cent of our discoverable oil and 66 per cent of our discoverable natural gas are still in the ground, the packaged answer from Cross was that

your children will be poor shivering waifs, unless Congress quits cutting the oil depletion allowance and unless something is done about "the high cost of complying with recent environmental regulations."

Columbia Gas System took a full-page ad in the June 6th *New York Times* to warn that "disaster could strike as early as the winter of 1973-74. Industry could shut down because of lack of energy, resulting in great unemployment. Homes and commercial establishments could be without enough energy for their daily needs." What solution did Columbia propose? "The prices of all forms of energy must increase sharply."

From every executive of every major energy company, the refrain is the same: If we want to prevent the lights from going out and the stoves from growing cold, we'd better turn loose the oil and gas explorers to find fossil fuel wherever they can find it and at whatever price to the consumer. And to hell with conserving the tundra and the surf.

The "energy shortage" as we know it today was detected in 1968. Something else interesting happened in that year: the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the petroleum industry did not deserve a higher profit than had been allowed by the Federal Power Commission in the famous Permian Basin area rate case. Industry had argued that it deserved more money because its gas reserves were declining sharply. But the Court rejected this argument, noting: "There is . . . substantial evidence that additions to reserves have not been unsatisfactorily low, and that recent variations in the ratio of reserves to production are of quite limited significance." The Court noted further that each year new reserves exceeded production.

There is excellent circumstantial evidence, put together by Charles F. Wheatley, Jr., general manager and general counsel of the American Public Gas Association (a pro-consumer organization), that this Court ruling was seen by the oil and gas industry as an invitation to a life-or-death struggle over controls.

Industry was apparently determined to rid itself, once and for all, of the kind of government control which set wellhead gas rates on the basis of production costs plus fair return. If industry could get rid of those controls, then the price of oil and coal would also be allowed to soar—for their price levels were held back by the cheapness of gas.

And if the Supreme Court demanded a showing of shortage before it would go along with industry, then industry was prepared to juggle the record to show just that. Beginning in 1968, and for the first time in history, the industry claimed that it found less gas than it sold. It has been claiming the same thing for every year since. The basis for these claims is in industry's file cabinets, secret, not available to Congress or to the public. You just have to take industry's word for it.

Along with the official drop in the findings/production ratio, industry also began its drive to frighten the public through the popular press. Is it actually conceivable that those respectable executives would stoop to trickery for a buck? No less responsible a person than Hendrick S. Houthakker, professor of economics at Harvard and a former member of the Council of Economic Advisers, said, "I think frankly that the oil industry has been engaged in a

scare campaign on this shortage question. I think they are making projections that are very debatable." And when George P. Shultz, now Secretary of the Treasury, testified before Congress in 1970 he exhibited such a rare degree of candor that oilmen have not forgiven him; he testified that in his opinion the oil and gas industry was perfectly capable of faking a crisis in order to manipulate government policy.

Industry's fright campaign can be easily documented by turning to that standard index of periodical literature, *Reader's Guide*. From March 1968 to February 1969, just three years ago, *Reader's Guide* lists not one magazine article on the topic of energy shortage. In fact, there are no magazine articles that point even obliquely in that direction.

But in the twelve months following the Supreme Court decision, articles on the topic exploded into print, and they all appeared in magazines that can be counted on to give industry a helping hand: *Business Week*, *Nation's Business*, *U.S. News*, *Fortune* and *Forbes*. "LOOMING CRISIS IN NATURAL GAS," says one headline; already the crepe was being hung.

In the next twelve months the publicists really got the press's range, with no less than twenty-five articles: "SCROUNGING FOR FUEL," IS THE CUPBOARD BARE?, etc. The barrage has continued during the last year and a half unabated, with something like three dozen "crisis" articles reaching print in the indexed magazines and no telling how many dozens in other periodicals. *The New York Times*, the *Washington Star*, *The Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* are among the important newspapers that have given extended coverage of the topic, for the most part in a vein that would not in any way frustrate the oil and gas industry's objectives.

A scare campaign, however, is not easily conducted; the managers must walk a narrow line. On the one hand, they must convince the public that things are so bad it would be wise to leave matters with those who know best, Big Industry; but on the other hand, they must not frighten the public into advocating something radical.

In this episode, that public had to be convinced that, while fuel might not be *immediately* available, it *could* be produced if industry were encouraged to go get it. If the public became too alarmed, it might insist on trying what several *pro-publico* experts, among them former Federal Power Commissioners Lee White and Charles Ross, have suggested: some public ownership of the exploratory and distribution machinery of the oil-gas industry. When the propaganda juggernaut began back in 1969-70, industry apparently feared that it might be pushing too far too fast. It wanted real fright, but not a stampede. So the American Gas Association bought full-page ads, such as the following in October 22, 1970 *Wall Street Journal*, to quiet the flustered herd:

WHAT'S BEING DONE ABOUT GAS SUPPLY

Recent reports of natural gas shortages in various parts of the country have apparently led to speculation that we are running out of natural gas. Now this is simply not true.

What's happening is this: In certain areas, the demand for additional natural gas has outrun the *present* [their

italics] ability to supply. Consequently, a number of utilities which have received requests for new large industrial loads have had to turn them down. These shortages are due partly to increased demands for natural gas—such as in the effort to fight air pollution—and partly to the fact that gas is now being consumed faster than new reserves are being developed.

This does *not* mean the country is running out of gas. (In fact, geologists estimate that proved and potential supplies are over 70 times our present annual consumption rate.)

Exactly one year later the American Gas Association was back again, placing ads in *Life* and other magazines, still with the obvious purpose of preventing outright hysteria. These ads assured Americans that there was no reason to lay in a supply of wood and peat, because, "There's no worry that your home will run short of gas. . . . We've been serving you for 100 years—and we don't intend to stop now." However, the gas patron was asked to bear one little burden: "It will take higher prices to keep the gas coming."

And higher prices the industry got. Within the past twelve months the Federal Power Commission has granted price increases that the American Public Gas Association estimates will cost the consumer as much as \$4 billion. But industry, unsatisfied, kept up its ominous chatter, reaching peak decibels this year in ten days of testimony before the House Interior Committee, chaired by that great friend of the special interests, Rep. Wayne Aspinall. Giving the problem unusual priority, Aspinall did not assign his investigation of the energy crisis to a subcommittee but trooped it across the footlights of the full committee. A star-studded cast performed: Treasury Secretary and permanent spokesman for one wing of the oil industry, John Connally; Admiral Rickover; Interior Secretary Rogers Morton; environmentalist Barry Commoner; Barry Shillito of the Pentagon's innermost war room; physicist Ralph Lapp; Frank Ikard, president of the American Petroleum Institute, and two dozen other eminent rhetoricians.

Their testimony was not identical, to say the least. There were the usual industry sermons about salvation through "price incentives"; but there were also some sporadic side trips into sanity, as when Commoner, urging fewer energy-wasting luxuries, pointed out that the manufacturing of flip-top cans consumes several times more energy than the manufacturing of solid steel tops.

But if these hearings provided anything, it was what the flurry of magazine and newspaper articles had already proven: that just because a man is expert in some other field does not mean that he can easily transfer his exper-

tise to the exotic world of fossil fuels. The basic reason for this is that the industry keeps most of its data secret, releasing only what will buttress its position, and that in a form designed to confuse even bright readers. Prepackaged pap from Wilbur Cross of Conoco is a diet no more restrictive than that handed out by the American Gas Association, the American Petroleum Institute, the Federal Power Commission, the Interior Department's Oil and Gas Section—or any of the other industry-dominated sources of data. Where else is there to go?

So one finds such normally canny fellows as Ralph Lapp sometimes following the industrial crumbs into a trap, as he did in the recent *New York Times Magazine* article, "We're Running Out of Gas," an expanded version of what he had previously written for *The New Republic*. As a plea for conservation, it was eloquent, but as a practical appraisal of the energy future in this country it was almost farcically pessimistic: not only will we be beggars in the world gas market by 1990, wrote Lapp, but within the foreseeable future there is no substitute fuel. Oil is also in short supply; coal is too dirty; imported liquefied gas is too expensive; the production of synthetic gas is too far in the future to offer hope; nuclear power is still beset with crippling problems. By the time he had completed his tale of woe, one felt the Arctic icecap descending upon us. "We have," he cried with his parting breath, "overcome nature."

Well, he's right: we *are* running out of gas, just as we are running out of all finite fuel materials—gas faster than most because it is more useful and popular than most. But beyond that, the only indisputable fact in the matter seems to be that, lacking objective data from sources other than industry, we cannot say how fast we are running out. And lacking more aggressive attempts to develop substitute fuels, we cannot say what could be made available. Meanwhile, the battle over controls and prices comes down to a war of nerves; and consumer advocates must have regretted that this prestigious scientist hadn't restrained himself until better data were available (he was invited to do a second chorus of his sad song at the House hearings).

Although Lapp acknowledged that "huge amounts of undiscovered gas are thought to exist more than 15,000 feet below the earth's surface," he adds that "drilling that deep is prohibitively expensive."

Nonsense. Edward Leach, editor of *Pipeline & Gas Journal*, writing in the issue of October 1971, lays out what most gas producers know: drilling at the deeper levels, or offshore, is three to ten times more expensive than shallow onshore drilling, but the chance of finding gas at those levels and in those areas is nearly three times higher; the deep zones usually have "exceptionally large" volumes of gas, and deep-zone gas can be produced more cheaply because it is under greater pressure. All of which, wrote Leach, adds up to the fact that by drilling deeper "you are actually reducing the *basic unit cost*."

If we accept this man's know-how (which I could support from other industrial sources that are not often quoted in lay articles), then there is no reason to discount—as Lapp does—the Potential Gas Committee's estimate that this part of the globe contains 1,178 trillion cubic feet of "potential" gas, or nearly four times the

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current known reserves. And inasmuch as deeper onshore drilling as well as offshore drilling returns a better cost-price ratio, there is no reason to accept higher prices, or at least much higher prices, without a fight.

I don't want to pick on physicist Lapp, for he has a right to his own confusions in this complex field, but it will be useful to point out one more goof he has perpetrated in his presentation of the "crisis."

"Cheap, clean energy—best exemplified by natural gas—has been the prime fuel of the U.S. economy, and it's running out," he says; but in his sorrow he fails to mention that one reason we're running out of gas is that the industrial part of our economy has been slopping it up like hogs.

"Roughly two-thirds of the gas sold since 1945 has been sold for industrial purposes and at prices designed to undercut the prices for coal and residual fuel oil," former FPC Commissioner Lawrence O'Connor pointed out recently. FPC Commissioner Rush Moody also pointed out recently that while residential and small consumers use only 21 per cent of the gas, they pay 46 per cent of the cost. Gas distributors have for a generation charged the housewife more per unit for the gas she uses to cook a pot roast than they charge Bethlehem Steel to cook an ingot, with the very predictable result that industry has fallen in love with this cheap fuel and has used it like mad wastrels.

"Simply switching to some other fuel is not an adequate answer," says Lapp. The hell it isn't. Getting the gas-gulping industries to return to coal would be not only an adequate answer but a sane answer. "Environmentalists will object," he says, "to any move toward a substitution of coal or oil, with their high sulfur content and resultant air-pollution potential, for relatively clean-burning gas." There's no reason to talk that way. Why the assumption that coal must result in filth? Lapp is doubtless familiar with a generating process called MHD, used in West Germany, Japan and Russia; it reportedly results in far better combustion and thereby about one-third less stack effluents and two-thirds more power per pound of fuel than we are accustomed to getting from the ordinary method of burning coal. Built into the typical MHD power plant, also, is a recovery system that keeps just about all particulate matter out of the air. Two years ago the Office of Science and Technology estimated that development of MHD would save \$11 billion in coal costs between 1985 and 2000.

So why don't we have MHD in this country? Why did the government this year budget a puny \$3 million for developing MHD? One answer might be that the coal companies—which, since the inter-ties are almost total, means the oil and gas industry—do not want power plants that use \$11 billion less of their product in a fifteen-year period.

And inasmuch as the American Gas Association acknowledges that "known minable reserves of coal in the United States could be converted to some 11,000,000,000,000,000 cubic feet of gas—enough to supply the nation's gas energy needs at current consumption rates for a full 500 years," one might also ask why it is that the most profitable industry in the world is spending only

a measly \$10 million annually out of its own pocket to develop that technique.

One might also wonder why, since our fuel supply is supposedly so precarious, the energy industry sells \$1 billion worth of coal to other countries every year. And one can only marvel at the logic of the major U.S. oil companies, now engaged in despoiling other countries as they have their own, which pretend to be so concerned about our "crisis," when at the same time, in producing oil in Canada and Central and South America and Africa and the Middle East, they flare right in the field—burn as waste—a gas supply that totals a tenth of the world's annual production. But instead of addressing themselves straightforwardly to correcting such mistakes, the oil and gas industry continues its old buccaneering ways while the consumer is distracted by fright.

And the strategy is working well. Aside from the \$4 billion gas price hike it got last year for "exploration incentives," the industry in recent months has used the shortage scare to: (1) obtain Interior Department approval for the cross-Alaska pipeline, so we (and Japan) will get that "desperately needed" oil, and despite the fact that the Interior crowd has conceded a pipeline across Canada would be less ecologically dangerous; (2) win approval for El Paso Natural Gas Company to import liquefied natural gas from Algeria at a cost that is bound to shove domestic prices much higher (the LNG, by the way, will be produced in Algeria with \$350 million in loans directly from or guaranteed by the U.S. Government; and the construction and operation of El Paso's tankers will also be subsidized by the U.S. taxpayer); (3) get President Nixon and the State Department to help industry manipulate a deal for the purchase of Russian natural gas. Prior to Nixon's junket to Russia, a study of the proposal, prepared by Brown & Root of Texas, was quietly circulated in Washington for approval at top levels. Backstopping Nixon, and urging him to do industry's job with Russia, were the White House's petroleum adviser, Peter Flanigan, and Secretary of Commerce Peterson.

It shall not be supposed, however, that the Russian liquefied natural gas is all coming to this "energy-short" country. El Paso Natural Gas is cooking up its own deal with Russia to ship LNG to Japan as well as to U.S. West Coast ports.

Of course the public will also pay for all this. Flanigan has acknowledged that, as with El Paso in Algeria, "substantial government financial assistance would be appropriate." As for the tankers to carry the gas, Flanigan said that "gas consumers would pay for the U.S.-built ships over the life of the gas contract."

And the industry has accomplished another little thing while we were trembling: it convinced the FPC, which never takes too much convincing when industry talks, to set up a new mechanism by which gas prices can continue to go higher and higher on an *ad hoc* basis. This ruling would destroy the cost basis for pricing, established in 1954. The new proposal came out on April 6; it is politically so flammable that it probably won't go into effect until after the election. Putting their heads together, the Consumer Federation of America, the American Public Gas Association and the American Public Power Asso-

ciation figured that the new rate-making procedure will add "\$500 billion or even as much as \$1 trillion to consumers' bills over the life of the nation's gas reserves."

In an extraordinary letter to the FPC, Sen. Philip Hart intervened with his own extensive protest, in predicting: "If the rule were adopted, the FPC would be abolishing regulation of wellhead prices for new gas. It would do so at a cost of billions of dollars to consumers from this year forward. . . . It does not provide for a rebate if later we learn that the natural gas shortage used as a defense of higher prices is more imagination than reality. . . . Worse, this rule binds all future Commissions to uphold the prices."

That is the crisis consumers had better pay attention

to right now. The supply shortage of the future may be very real, but the crisis of controls and prices is immediate. The reason why industry is whipping the consumer at will is that it isn't distracted by such questions as whether strip mining will be allowed in Wyoming in 1975; it is concerned only with today's profits. When industry men get together, they make no bones about this. As Tankersley told the American Gas Association last year: "Consumers must understand that natural gas . . . is in fact a premium fuel whose price has been artificially kept below that of other fuels. *This is the crisis.*" They've already begun taking care of gas prices, which will drive up the cost of oil and coal. That really is the crisis, though not in the way Tankersley means. □

Money & Marriage: The Usable Truth

BETTY MacMORRAN GRAY

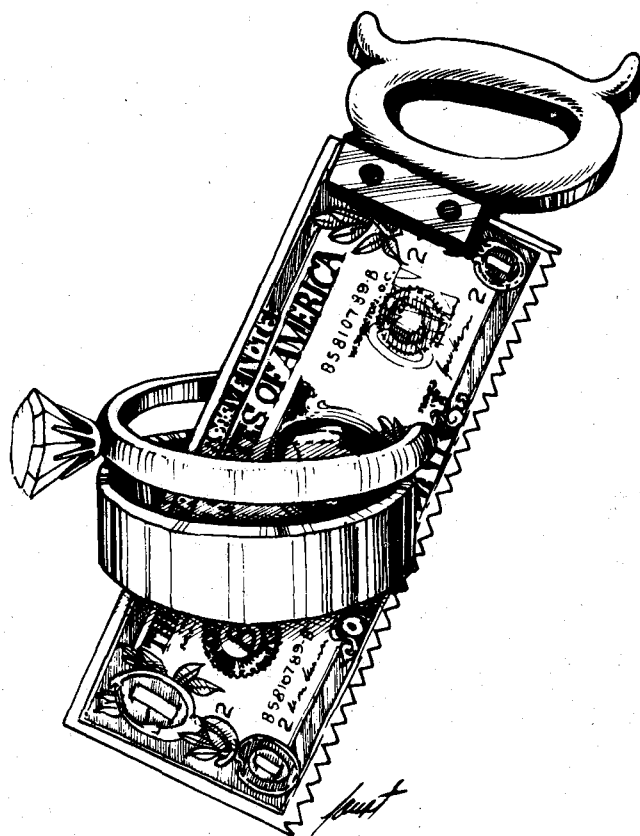
Mrs. Gray, who majored in economics at Vassar, is an editor with a Boston publishing house.

In recent years, we have approached a critical level of family disruption: an estimated 25 to 30 per cent of American marriages end in divorce; an inestimable percentage, in separation. This phenomenon has been commented on variously—for instance, by Laing in *Sanity, Madness and the Family* and other writings, by Bettelheim upon his return from visiting the Israeli kibbutzim, by the hippies with their collective lives and works.

These comments, and many others, tend to center on individual fault—psychosis, neurosis, sin. That the family both produces and is disrupted by individual fault is an indisputable and, at the same time, circular truth. It is one into which counselors often can break. Today, however, the numbers of individuals involved in the circle exceed by far the numbers of counselors, whether psychiatrists or social workers, available to help them, and the amount of money, whether from individuals or government, available to pay counseling fees. Under the circumstances, I doubt that we can find in individual fault the usable truth (a phrase from Hawthorne) about family disruption.

Where, then, can we look for the usable truth? I suggest that we look within our socio-economic system—the site, so to speak, of the disruption. Any socio-economic system, is, however, an eminent abstraction, and we should be more concrete. Our social system is based on the nuclear family; our economic system is based on capitalism—not on such *noms de guerre* as "free enterprise" and "individual enterprise."

The nuclear family is defined as husband and wife and offspring living in a common household: husband, breadwinner; wife, at home. Capitalism is characterized by its pursuit of a single definite goal: profit and its boundless extension. The system, which operates on the market principle, starts toward that goal by responding to, and in part creating, the demand for goods, which is a limited demand. In accord with fluctuations of demand, capitalism buys more or less labor, with the result that unemployment



rates rise and fall. Capitalism attains its goal of profit when it sells goods. It profits in large part from the difference between the price at which it buys labor and the price at which it sells that labor embodied in goods; from low wage/high price relationships. In the process, capitalism accounts for social costs within the public sector. It pays taxes to the government for use in the public sector. Eisenhower, for one, gave us some license, however, in his warning about the "military-industrial complex," to substitute "capitalism" for "government," and capitalism does often appear to be paying taxes to itself. In any event government, operating under the budget principle

ple, "neglects" social costs, the social realities of our individual lives, and honors superprofitable military expenditures. All in all, capitalism extracts from the labor force a maximum of the value which the labor force can produce.

How does the husband, the father, the "breadwinner," fare in the labor force? In 1967 (the most recent year for which I could locate earnings of husbands), with the Bureau of Labor Statistics lower-level budget for an urban family of four at \$5,994, 38 per cent of husbands earned from \$1 to \$5,999. With the BLS intermediate budget at \$9,243, 24 per cent earned \$6,000-\$7,999; and 16 per cent, \$8,000-\$9,999. In sum, close to 78 per cent of husbands were not able to function as breadwinners of intermediate amounts—as capitalism resulted in unemployment rates and profited from low wage-high price relationships.

Increasingly, the wife, the mother, "at home," tries to join the labor force. In 1940, of married women (husbands present), with children under 18, one out of ten was in the labor force. Today, four out of ten are in, of whom three are on full-time schedules. These women are depicted by many liberators as motivated by strivings for self-expression, self-fulfillment; as Noras *reductae*. In 1968, however, with the BLS lower budget at \$6,273, 44 per cent of these women's husbands had incomes of \$1,000 to \$6,999. With an intermediate budget of \$9,634, 32 per cent had incomes of \$7,000-\$9,999. Thus, close to 76 per cent of these women may have been less in line with Nora than with Mother Courage.

Once married women relate to the labor force, they can be used as tactical, and as tactful, workers. Tactical workers, they can be dismissed from and drawn into, counted out of and counted into, the labor force at will. Their unemployment can be hidden (as their husbands' cannot be) "at home," amid the darning and the diapers and the dishes, so that it does not add to the official rates which, when high, become capitalism's Achilles' heel. According to one calculation, the hidden unemployment of women and teen-agers would, if bared, raise the official rates by one-third. Tactful workers, married women can be said to require lower wages than men, admittedly less-than-living incomes. Their underemployment can be rationalized by adding their lower wages to their husbands' low wages and coming out with medium wages, equal-to-living incomes. This rationale can then be extended to all women, since all women stand, in relation to men, as either present or potential wives. In one reckoning, the wage differential between women and men is the source of some one-fourth of all manufacturing company profits.

The children are at home. Children need help. Yet, as mothers increasingly and out of necessity follow fathers into the labor force, the public sector, which is adjacent to the home, fails to provide help for the nuclear family—in the persons of more and more dedicated day-care center workers, nutritionists, recreation workers, teachers, librarians; in the forms of more and more adequate community centers, clinics, parks and playgrounds, school buildings, libraries. Indeed, the public sector tends to encompass not a green and gratifying public domain but an "asphalt jungle."

Since economic needs guarantee capitalism an adequate

(and more than adequate) labor force, government has no incentive to attract additional workers by easing, through public expenditures, private responsibilities. Annual per capita expenditures of federal, state and local governments on, for example, health and local parks and recreation sound more like figures from a public auction than from the public domain—\$14 and \$7, respectively. In contrast, the 1970 White House Conference on Children gauged "good developmental day care" at from "\$2,000 to \$5,000 per year" per child.

The usable truth about the critical level of family disruption is to be found, I submit, in the measurable and definitive ways in which the nuclear family is affected by capitalism. Close to 78 per cent of husbands and fathers are not "breadwinners" of intermediate amounts; wives and mothers, increasingly and out of necessity, are not "at home"; children and parents are not helped by the public sector—as capitalism extracts from the labor force a maximum of the value which the labor force can produce. The usable truth will become the useful truth only if we use it by trying to understand and to change our experience, which is always at once individual and social and economic. □

LETTERS (Continued from page 802)

indignation, which she quotes as "one of the most passionate forms of love" (though she neglects to mention love of whom). Her tone reeks with antagonism. . . .

Such glib overranger offers a genuine issue more harm than support. It makes one wonder if it is traditional marriage that is at the root of the problem. After all, is it not meaningful communication with some purpose that Miss Harrison is seeking?

Frederick Kuri

beef

Bath, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: With the disappearance of "taste" from meat products due to the modern "integrator technology" described by James Rowen in "Conglomerate Beef: Greyhound Steak, Sauce Oppenheimer" [*The Nation*, June 5], there seems little reason left to justify our excessive dependency on beef. . . . It might therefore be appropriate if the medical profession would sever its tacit alliance with the meat packers, since both groups have long exaggerated the average requirements for this type of protein diet. There may be an equal obligation to alert the public to the potential health hazards consumers face daily in consuming a product that never has been adequately inspected, which freely transmits highly virulent organisms and is, unfortunately, a poor conductor of the heat needed to kill such organisms, whose surface symptoms of disease go largely undetected because of the widespread use of antibiotics, as a routine industrial measure. With the newly added dangers of enzymes and growth hormones, often suspected of activating some types of cancer cells, the ancient rule of *caveat emptor* is being given a new, and perhaps more sinister, meaning.

S. Drucker

correction

In James Rowen's "Law and Slaughter: Quick Triggers in New Mexico" [*The Nation*, June 19], District Attorney Sceresse of Albuquerque is quoted as saying, hyperbolically, that he doesn't care whether police officers fired 15,000 shots. In fact, Mr. Sceresse was less hyperbolic than that—the figure he grabbed out of the air was 5,000. *The Editors*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

In the Grip of Egalitarian Passion

TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE. By Huey P. Newton. Random House. 232 pp. \$7.95.

BERT COCHRAN

Mr. Cochran teaches at the New School. He is the author of *Adlai Stevenson: Patrician Among the Politicians* (Funk & Wagnalls), and a forthcoming book on the Truman Presidency.

In the short space of a few years, black insurgency jumped from one end of the political spectrum to the other. But unlike the shifts from Right to Left in great social revolutions, corresponding to the changes of mood of vast multitudes, the alterations in black sensibility arose from the frustrations of restricted groups of activists. The dedicated SNCC militants, whose yeoman labors made possible Martin Luther King's campaigns, started out with ideals of Christian brotherhood, nonviolence and integration; by the mid-sixties, disillusioned with moral suasion and pacifism as a strategy for improving the status of blacks, they veered to Black Power. When the center of the struggle moved from Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi to the Northern cities, SNCC was already disintegrating. The revolutionary wing of the black upsurge came then to be dominated by a new group, the Black Panthers, organized by ghetto blacks of Oakland, Calif., in the fall of 1966.

To Die for the People is a compilation of important articles, speeches and interviews of the Black Panthers' founder, dating from the party's formation to the present. Huey P. Newton does not have Eldridge Cleaver's gifts for language, and the book cannot rival the literary qualities of *Soul On Ice*. For all that, it is a more authentic representation of the moods and ideas of Panther activists—Newton's has been the authoritative voice of the movement from the start. Although he feels the need to establish himself as a political theorist in keeping with the Communist tradition, his mind runs along didactic and tactical rather than scholarly lines. His pronouncements on doctrinal matters are not of much interest; when he has an intriguing idea he lacks the ability to develop it or place it in an appropriate theoretical context. The compilation, however, is an indispensable source for understanding the Black Panther Party and its recent evolution. The message, with all of its crudities,

revolutionary irreconcilability, cries of defiance, second thoughts, changes of front, is belted out straight from the inner sanctum. It is too early to say, but as an American revolutionary tactician, Newton may yet be rated a luminary of the first magnitude.

By the time of the founding of the Black Panthers, the regulation civil rights movement had collapsed. The legislative achievements of the coalition with liberalism effected by King and the NAACP proved superficial; they widened instead of narrowing the gap between the conditions of the black ghetto and the hopes engendered by civil rights agitation. Blacks, in a fever of ethnic assertion, were turning away in derision from liberal perspectives. Black Power, which originated as a catch phrase, a slogan, an affirmation of self-respect rather than as the title of a thought-out program, was appropriated by the various clashing tendencies developing within the black communities. At the same time, the riots which convulsed one major city after another demonstrated that no tendency, organization or set of leaders spoke for the ghettos, or exercised control over their populations.

It was the particular accomplishment of the Black Panthers that they caught the attention of a portion of the ghetto *Lumpenproletariat*, and enlisted its loyalties. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale were themselves characteristic products of a modern Northern ghetto, and as is becoming more common in affluent America, both spent some time at a community college. (At that, according to his own testimony, Newton did not learn to read until he was 17 and still does not read easily.) Newton, who already had a reputation for ability to "throw his hands," had to interrupt his schooling to serve an eight-month jail sentence for wounding, during a political argument, another black who he thought was about to pull a knife on him. When he came out of jail, he was associated briefly with a campus organization called the Soul Students Advisory Council. Then he decided that something more basic was called for.

The formative period of the Black Panthers was nothing if not dramatic, and for the next few years, as the organization spread nationally, it wrote a chapter in the story of American radical-

ism that puts it with the Wobblies—or ahead of them—for grit and élan. Newton, Seale, and their friends set up a paramilitary organization to protect the ghetto from police brutality. Confrontations between the police and bands of Black Panthers dressed in a semi-military manner—black berets, powder-blue shirts and black leather jackets—publicly carrying their guns (permitted by California law at the time; the law was then hastily changed), maintaining perfect discipline, and Newton displaying his ice-cold nerve, created consternation in the Police Department, and sent a shock wave through the black districts. After an armed demonstration at the state legislature in Sacramento, the Panthers became known throughout the nation, and branches were set up in a number of cities.

With these organizational advances came police harassment and repression, spreading from Oakland and other Bay Area cities across the country until the Panthers became the victims of man-hunts, capital trials and outright killings—an anti-radical hunt probably unprecedented in America for its scope and its systematic ferocity. In October 1967, a year after the Panther organization was founded, when being a Panther was already a hazardous occupation, an Oakland police officer, John Frey, stopped a Volkswagen being driven by Newton, placed him under arrest, ordered him out of the car, and started walking him to one of two police cars parked behind the Volkswagen. What followed has never been fully clarified. Shots rang out, Frey was killed, another policeman was wounded in the arm, and Newton had four bullet holes in his abdomen and one in his thigh. Newton was charged with murder and locked in Alameda County jail without bail. He insisted on his innocence and the party threw all of its resources into a national "Free Huey" campaign. He was convicted the following September; the compromise verdict of voluntary manslaughter carried a prison sentence of two to fifteen years. All through the "Free Huey" campaign, the Panthers were growing rapidly in key localities—800 members were signed up in one month in New York alone—and were as rapidly becoming engulfed in the fury of the courts and police. There is evidence that Treasury and FBI officials were putting

pressure on local law-enforcement agencies to organize raids and prosecutions.

Despite their sanguinary career, the Panthers were more than just revolutionary gunmen. They worked unceasingly to live up to the roles of Populist tribunes. The party soon adopted a variation of Marxism-Leninism for its ideology. This consisted of a pop mélange of Mao-Guevara-Fanon dispensations. Political indoctrination was strict and earnest. And throughout the Panthers' long preoccupation with the "Free Huey" campaign and the calls on their time and energies for defense—their attorney, Charles Garry, calculated that in the two-year period from December 1967 to December 1969, the party had to pay out on nonreturnable bail-bond premiums a sum in excess of \$200,000—they involved themselves in a variety of neighborhood activities. They fought rent evictions, worked with welfare clients, ran classes, and organized free breakfasts for children, free health clinics, and the sending of busses to prisons for visits with prisoners.

All their heroism, self-sacrifice, devotion and tactical ingenuity could not alter the fact that the basic tenet of the party's activities was a chimera. To pursue ac-

tions whose rationale was armed struggle—in a nonrevolutionary period, and in a nonrevolutionary country—was to grasp at a phantom. Not being poseurs nor hot-air artists but people whose actions matched their beliefs, the Panthers were to pay a high price for their mistaken theory. The repressions, the jailings, the gunning down of their militants, that brought the entire cadre face to face with destruction, might have been borne had the Panthers been operating in a congenial medium. That was precisely what they lacked. To most of white society, they were outlaws and thugs to be penned and slaughtered like marauding beasts. And even in the black communities, after the first wave of rioting passed, the middle-class politicians and traditional spokesmen, after making suitable tactical adjustments, reasserted their authority. The generality of blacks wanted their share of the good things of the affluent society, not a revolutionary transformation of that society. The Panthers found themselves without any appreciable constituency for their program of direct confrontation with the Establishment.

Their attempts to break out of the circle of isolation through alliances with whites were never very successful. The

FLIGHT

*If the thought of the body is a map,
did I want to fly, white nerves & pure
shock, to the one full cell in my brain?
This plane I'm strapped in like the night
splits the tough sky & spreads its dark
legs, roiling black dust in the wake
like blood in the sea: each lonely wave
a dead limit someone talks at everyday,
as if rage fused silence & distance.*

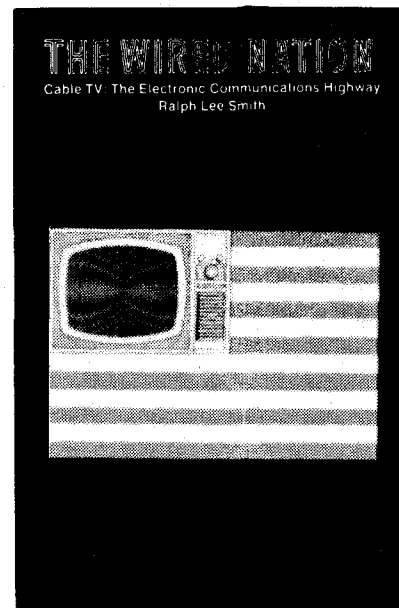
*In the last-ditch reach of memory,
I hear the noise of take-off, not me.
I see buildings change to a pattern
of themselves, then to a pattern of farms
that must be real farms, if we'd dive in
close enough. I'd bail out to taste
the earth fill my mouth. I'd listen
to my voice & believe speech makes touch
inaccurate. I'd know dirt talks back.*

*My fat nerves say no. A kid sister
pokes her brother's head between her knees,
the stewardess dreams of bursting
her lacquered skin & outside the air
could freeze a man. Even the dull hum
of pressure does not squeeze out
the vague word that makes death possible.*

○ *Did I want to steam to the heart
like some dumb machine on tracks?
I'm going somewhere. Nothing distracts.*

Michael R. Ryan

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Panthers had a more statesmanlike attitude toward possible white allies than any of the cultural or religious nationalists. But ultimately they were defeated by their own variety of sectarianism, for their intransigent politics precluded all genuinely useful alliances with liberals. As for the Left, that was a schismatic jungle, so that it was impossible to negotiate with any authoritative individuals or groups with the conviction that an agreement assured an alliance with any significant constituency. What the situation actually required was that the Panthers give some leadership to white radicals in sorting out their affairs. That was beyond the Panthers' abilities and beyond the ken of their provincial outlook. According to Newton, white radical opposition to the system was "an abstract thing" because whites experienced no real oppression. Hence the role he assigned to white revolutionaries as a mere adjunct of the black movement, raising money for black struggles, pumping up support for black causes, and the like. In 1969, SDS leaders objected to the Panther proposal of community control of police. They argued that while the proposal might have some value for the black ghettos, it could lead to the formation of vigilante teams in white neighborhoods. Whereupon David Hilliard, the party chief of staff, bellowed out the marching orders: "We're not going to let SDS worm their way out of their revolutionary duties. If they are revolutionary, then this is what we, as the vanguard of the revolution in Babylon, dictate—that they circulate that petition, not in our communities, but in their own." Alliance by ultimatum, while it might gain for the Panthers some momentary advantages from bewildered or intimidated white radicals and Left liberals, was bound in the end to fix the Panthers more securely in their isolation.

Newton regained his freedom in 1970 and had the perspicacity to realize that unless the course was drastically altered, the Panthers were headed for extinction. The exact nature of his controversy with Eldridge Cleaver and the reasons for the subsequent split are unclear, since candid discussion was an early casualty of the authoritarian structure of the party. Newton's charge that Cleaver was responsible for the isolation of the Panthers, "so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community," will not wash: the guerrilla obsession was a feature of the party at its foundation. At any rate, a reversal of positions all along the line was now decreed. Black capitalism had been decried; now Newton

was convinced that it had the same progressive role to play as did the native bourgeoisie in anti-colonial struggles. The ghetto churches had been excoriated; now the line was to cooperate with the churches in building the black community. In place of the head-on clash with all existing institutions, Newton opined that the system could correct itself "to a certain extent," and until people were ready to take the advanced Panther position, it would be "rather arrogant to say, dump the whole thing."

Where does this leave the Black Panther Party, and has it a future? The extent to which the party can transmogrify itself into a different political species is a moot question, since the new attitudes ride in uneasy tandem with the old, while the rhetoric of its press is still inflated and romantically extremist. Even were they so inclined, the Panthers could not become a welfare society devoted exclusively to children's free breakfast programs without surrendering their spe-

ONE PLUS ACTION

*I walk on water, a cartoon
of super-imposed frames,
"a broken bundle of mirrors"
outlined in crystal stripes,
suffused with music, thin and blue.
I hang on trees, and it is still noon,
burning the cold golden aridity
of past mid-days.*

Catherine Stetson

cial leadership and unique appeal in the ghettos. In a general way, the black communities, subject to continual stresses and strains, with so many of their youth gripped by egalitarian passions, can undoubtedly sustain a left-wing black party which has the maturity to develop an operating procedure and a platform that are relevant to these times and conditions. Whether the Panthers can provide the inspiration and practical leadership for such a party the next few years will tell. □

Prophet of the Crystal Cage

WE. By Yevgeny Zamyatin. Translated by Mirra Ginsburg. The Viking Press. 204 pp. \$6.95.

ROBERT K. MORRIS

Mr. Morris has written several books of criticism on British fiction, and frequently reviews contemporary literature.

When *We* appeared initially in its French and English translations in 1924 and 1925, the world was not yet ready to gauge the force of the novel's satire nor the truth of its prophecy. What indeed could a bizarre, sometimes incoherent, fantasy about a totalitarian utopia of the 26th century possibly say to the 20th? Totalitarianism had certainly been acknowledged as a political philosophy, but certainly not as the viable if monstrous form of government it was soon to become. World War I had revealed how nationalism could be perverted into the desire for conquest and assimilation; but nevertheless it had been a war of democracies and monarchies, republics and empires. Fascist Italy and Germany were still a decade away, and in Russia, Stalin was only on the threshold of consolidating plans for his all-powerful police state.

Yevgeny Zamyatin, a respected, influential, but none too prolific writer, had been one of the first to embrace the Russian Revolution. For its sake he had suffered imprisonment and banishment, but as soon as it was an accom-

plished fact he read in its face the shape of things to come. Like any good Communist in 1917, Zamyatin would have rejected Dostoevski's fears that a socialistic society must become a mere "ant heap" where men, scurrying and laboring to build the utopian "Crystal Palace," finally choose to surrender individuality and freedom for the materialistic happiness of the collective.

Three years of communism persuaded Zamyatin otherwise. *We*, completed in 1920, pictures these fears and more. Nor is it surprising to find that the novel reads, with its fusion of existential frenzy, iconoclasm, poetry and grotesque comedy, not unlike Dostoevski's visionary *Notes from Underground*. *We*, in fact, might be subtitled *Notes from Underglass*. Its narrator, D-503, chief mathematician of the One State—a vast city of transparent dwellings, the whole roofed over with glass to prevent climatic fluctuations—is keeping a diary to edify inhabitants of other planets when the spaceship *Integral* makes its maiden flight four months hence. In the diary we learn of the Two Hundred Years War; of the rise of the Benefactor; of elections on Unanimity Day; of the Table of Hours—both Bible and master plan, regulating every minute that the "numbers" (consonants for males, vowels for females) live; of the Green Wall surrounding the city, beyond which no one is permitted; of the

Maternity Norm, which decides who shall and shall not bear children; of the prescribed days for lovemaking (specified on pink coupons issued by the government); of the sophisticated electronic surveillance; of the reduction of music and art to a science; and—most depressing—of the almost universal contentment, since (as D writes early on), "Nobody is 'one,' but 'one of.'"

Almost universal, for it is not long before the narrator's approving description of the lives of the ciphers in this super-cyberneticized society begins to change character. Since art is a kind of confessional purge—and D's entries in his journal take the shape of art—the apologist discovers that he has a soul and an imagination; incurable diseases according to the state. His change is also brought about by I-330, a woman covertly engaged in revolutionary activities, with whom he falls in love in a non-pink-coupon way. He is persuaded to aid her cause. A vague plan for capturing the *Integral* materializes, to coincide with the Unanimity Day re-election of the Benefactor (he has been re-elected thirty-nine times). On that day, I speaks out against the state; chaotic scuffling ensues; she is wounded, but taken to safety through the Green Wall by D—to a world of hairy, primitive, natural, free men, "the half we have lost," I tells her lover. D, however, cannot choose to be free. And when the

revolution is thwarted, he submits to The Great Operation and "one hundred per cent happiness." D is lobotomized; I liquidated. At the end of the novel there is a note of hope, since fighting is reported in a certain sector of the city.

How hopeful Zamyatin was, however, is questionable. A novel that ends with the cry, "Reason must prevail," uttered by the now totally dehumanized D, announces the limitless unreason that has since come to characterize not only totalitarian societies but the democracies as well.

Visionary first, satirist second, Zamyatin foresaw the anesthetic dystopias that would develop on the basis of logic, technology and conditioning. Paradoxically—and consequently—he loathed stagnation and conservatism. His true belief was in "infinite revolution," the dynamism of continual change that prevents man and society's "psychological entropy." Philosophically speaking, Zamyatin was able to forecast the future in terms of the present; few knew modern society better than he. He saw how in the regimented state ordered by machines, man becomes slave to the machine, and most especially to that machinelike creation, the state itself; he saw how lack of change is synonymous with lack of freedom; how conformity breeds mediocrity; how material satisfaction under such conditions turns men

DEATHS OF THE POETS

*Take the voices away
that pierce the always waiting ear,
splinters of God, biblical shell-fragments, screams
of police-sirens and out of the mouths
of dead faces holding steady in the mind's endless galleries—
voices that return and return and return.*

*Don't come too close.
I want to lift off.
I want to penetrate you. Don't you penetrate me.
I want to lift off from the red-hot ground
with my load of three-point-five billion passengers, my load
of three-point-five billion passengers screaming in here.*

*Touch a magnet, maybe I'll become one.
The ground's red-hot, and the sky,
and the air. They're jumping in front of the trucks
and from the bridges. They're shoving
their beautiful heads in the gas-ovens. They're
listening, listening, can't stop listening.*

*Touch a magnet, maybe I'll become one.
I want to lift off with my load—
three-point-five billion passengers treading down their dead,
stamping on baby faces, clawing each other down—
out to where there's no ground, no sky, no air,
no voice, not even silence, anywhere.*

M. L. Rosenthal

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into lotus eaters and zombies; how emotion and the human spirit are reduced to Pavlovian responses; how the collective grows strong as the individual will weakens and dies; and how thinking to save himself from want and pain, man loses hope and desire.

Beyond the area of philosophical speculation, however, Zamyatin was bound to the idea of progress. Read Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), Orwell's *1984* (1948) and Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange* (1962), and it is apparent that while they may be more clever, frightening, *Angst*-ridden or more satisfying in the literary sense, they really contributed little beyond *We*'s prophecies about the total state. "Zamyatin foresaw it all," writes Mirra Ginsburg in her excellent introduction, "the terror, the betrayals, the dehumanization; the ubiquitous 'guardians'; the control of thought and action; the constant brainwashing which resulted either in unquestioning automations or in hypocrites who lied for the sake of survival; the demand that everybody worship the Benefactor . . . the subjection of the arts."

This last point is curiously, fatefully

relevant to *We*. For while the novel has been translated into more than a dozen languages, at no point in its fifty-year history has it been published in Russia. We now have, however, two translations in English: the present version, and that of 1924 by Gregory Zilboorg (revised in 1959). Having read both through several times, I prefer Miss Ginsburg's text. Knowing no Russian, I am not qualified to comment on the faithfulness of either translation to the original. But I find Miss Ginsburg's prose more vigorous than Mr. Zilboorg's. It is nervous, hallucinatory; and the splashes of verbal color at those moments in which D poeticizes or rhapsodizes—suggesting all along the fact that he does have a soul—provide in Miss Ginsburg's translation a much more effective contrast to the mathematical jargon and the journalese that spill from several of the other characters. I would say, too, that this particular edition of *We* is valuable for the introduction alone, an essay I cannot praise too highly. It is the work of a translator who has absorbed her subject, and shows a mind attuned to the shape of Zamyatin's art. □

BRAZIL IN BROOKLYN

*You enter, ripping water,
juggling the skulls
of wrens,
your eye is the gap
between mares
on a plain.
And when you leave,
the stoop
opens to release
two startled gulls.*

John Eskow

tight oligopolies throughout the private sector then leads to high prices, reduced output and a generally perverse response to macro-economic policies designed to control inflation and promote full employment throughout the economic system—in short, to "administered prices."

Given this diagnosis, Blair's remedies are those of the traditional competitionists—strong antitrust enforcement and more vigorous action to promote competitive developments. He also has some enthusiasm for jawboning, particularly if carried out by the Chief Executive, noting that "at least since World War II no President has ever had his direct request to a specific industry refused. . . ." Although acknowledging the value of regulation and direct controls in individual cases, he emphasizes that "no form of regulation, even if it narrows the margin between costs and prices, approaches the competitive free market in performing the additional functions of exerting a downward pressure on costs, stimulating invention and innovation, and allocating resources among industries." Socialist planning and nationalization are anathema, the ultimate stages of inefficient centralization and deadening bureaucracy.

After a lifetime of controversy and intrigue in the corridors of power, Blair will not be the least surprised to learn that both his diagnosis and his remedies will draw strong criticism, and often from more than one direction. With respect to the diagnosis, the economic libertarians—as represented by the Chicago School and its less sophisticated adherents—will insist that if Blair is right about the viability of the market economy and the strength of technological and managerial imperatives, then he must accept the results—whatever they are—as the best of all possible worlds. Their prescription: The market economy will operate effectively if both the antitrusters and the neo-Socialists will simply leave it alone. On the other side, the Galbraithians will accept Blair's diagnosis, at least with respect to the high level of concen-

Oligopoly—the American Way

ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION:
Structure, Behavior and Public Policy.
By John M. Blair. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 742 pp. \$16.95.

LEE E. PRESTON

Mr. Preston is the Melvin H. Baker Professor of American Enterprise, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Punch once remarked that "Sir Winston is writing his autobiography—disguised as a history of the World." In a sense, *Economic Concentration* is John Blair's autobiography, a 700-page digest and synthesis of the work of half a lifetime, much of it spent as the leading stimulator within the federal government of research into the structure and behavior of American business. After initial experience with the TNEC and FTC, Blair found his sponsor in the late Sen. Estes Kefauver, and continued his role as chief economist for the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly under Sen. Philip Hart. With this Congressional support and an independent budget, Blair was able to commission special studies from the Bureau of the Census, arrange hearings and symposia in which academic research results were brought to public attention, and—in the role that grabbed the headlines—grill leading corporate

executives and even government officials in order to bring out the facts and their implications. The record of these activities is scattered through hundreds of volumes of testimony, and the underlying research studies and backup materials fill dozens of filing cabinets and storerooms. Only Blair himself could have performed the task of selecting and integrating these materials into a single volume.

No one acquainted with Blair's career will be in the least surprised with the results. The basic themes are familiar: the private sector of the economy is highly concentrated; a small number of firms control a large portion of all economic activity. This structural pattern is not the result of natural forces or internal economies; on the contrary, technological change and managerial efficiency favor smaller size and decentralized decision making, not ever-increasing centralization. The primary centralizing forces have been merger activity (promoted as an end in itself), resort to nonprice competition and predatory practices by already dominant firms, and actions and policies of government, which has stimulated the growth of large firms through procurement, protection, regulation and other forms of favorable treatment. The resulting structure of stable,

tration and the strength of institutional forces (financial, governmental, managerial) tending to maintain it, but reject his competitionist nostrums in favor of the romantic technocracy of the New Industrial State. Both of these alternative analytical-ideological positions are not only clearly established and well-defended but in a mind-boggling paradox they have jointly become the basis for the domestic economic policy of the Nixon Administration. With both opposing viewpoints blessed by official sponsorship—if by no other evidence of analytical consistency or ideological harmony—it seems unlikely that Blair's new publication will touch off a burst of enthusiasm for traditional trust busting.

However, this is probably not the point. American society has never lacked for chroniclers and critics of the growth of private economic power, nor have the chroniclers and critics lacked for developments worthy of comment. Within recent months several publications, particularly Mark Green's *The Closed Enterprise System* and Mintz and Cohen's *America, Inc.*, have explored much of this same terrain. The latter book particularly requires comparison with Blair's work, since Cohen was counsel for the Antitrust Subcommittee and Mintz one of the few journalists who have given that body's operations intensive coverage. Although the ideological viewpoint is almost identical and the substantive coverage significantly overlapping between these two books, Blair has written a comprehensive treatise whereas Mintz and Cohen offered only a popular tract. The latter is, as would be expected, easier and more fun to read. It also focuses more sharply on business-media-politics relationships—that is, on *society* as a whole rather than on purely economic matters. At the same time, the weakness of a tract is that it can be too easily dismissed by those who disagree with it. Written with a journalist's eye for one side of the case, it invites the put-down that *only one side is presented*.

Blair's book suffers some of the same defects, but its comprehensive and orderly presentation of facts and research results should generate at least a comparable effort on the part of its critics. If Blair's material can be criticized for "selectivity" and one-sidedness, it is nevertheless substantive documentation for the viewpoint presented, and thus it places upon potential critics the burden of a comparable analysis—or the alternative of keeping quiet. Discussion of domestic economic policy frequently degenerates into an exchange of anecdote, assertion and opinion on the ground that "nothing is known about _____," where the

blank is filled in with the topic of the day. Blair's comprehensive compendium of data demonstrates that there is almost *no* aspect of contemporary American industrial structure about which *nothing* is known. On the contrary, he has drawn a vast collection of evidence and opinion into one place, and made it easy for interested readers to discover just what the controversy is about and what kind of evidence can be used to bolster at least

one of the significant viewpoints. Blair's ideological colleagues will be delighted to see their point of view so clearly presented and the evidence so effectively marshaled. The army of graduate students will be grateful for the conflicting hypotheses brought into focus, and the leads toward types of data that might be useful in testing them. As for the critics—they will have their work cut out for them. □

Surprise of Speaking in Tongues

THE TABLETS I-XV. By Armand Schwerner. Grossman Publishers. 48 pp. \$10. Paper \$4.95.

ALLEN PLANZ

Mr. Planz, formerly poetry editor of *The Nation*, is the author of a volume of poems, *A Night for Rioting (Swallow)*.

The tablets of the title purport to be the poetical artifacts of a society approximating the Sumero-Akkadian of pre-Biblical times, presented with notes and commentary by a modern "scholar-translator," as Schwerner calls him. They deal with "the emptying," a seasonal rite of fertility with Gnostic overtones, and are to be followed, we gather, by other cycles in forthcoming books. The poems in *The Tablets* are rude, funny, learned, barbarous, poignant elaborations of what just such a text might be. In it are our preconceptions and preoccupations, our yearnings about the primitive condition—"an uncontrollable mystery on the bestial floor. . . ." And these are played upon, satirized, satisfied.

A joke, then, on the literary occasion, on Whitman and Gilgamesh, on first and last things, on us. Our surrogate is the scholar-translator, whose modern sensibility is desiccated, whose familiar motives are suspect. "I regret," he says at the end of Tablet VIII,

my earlier flippancy—an attitude characteristic of beginnings, a manifestation of the resistance a man often senses when he faces the probability of a terrific demand on his life energy. Looking back myself to that first terrific meeting with these ancient poems, I can still sense the desire to keep them to myself all the while I was straining to produce these translations—desperately pushing to make available what I so wanted to keep secret and inviolable.

Terrific: he undergoes a spiritual revelation but not, unfortunately, a spiritual change. His irony fades into melancholy, his character into paranoia, and he proves to be just one more infinitely recessive persona. A victim of cultural entropy, he

remains as he is presented: anonymous.

The text is not straight. For Schwerner has cast his work irrevocably in terms of the wholly intractable "art" of translation—a limbo of impoverishments!—and in those terms "records" the sublime drama of the first, holy songs of civilization, and makes the edifice of myth, religion, progress come crashing down to cultural relativism. It is a profanation, by turns crooked, gleeful and murderous.

God and pornography die—only to be resurrected in language, between the tantrum and the eulogy, the neurotic and the primordial. "The sacred turns real in the handling," Schwerner declared in an early poem. So, too, the insane turns real, in *The Tablets*. "Psychotic rant," says the scholar-translator of a nonlinear passage

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that he deems to be the expression of a "cured schizophrenic." His own careful itemization often gives way to an exhilarated nominalism, with the surprise of a man who finds he is speaking in tongues. The shock of the caves of Altamira is with us still: art does not progress. The evolution of consciousness is entirely wrapped in the burden and mystery of language. Again the word precedes existence. The tribe we long to belong to sings in firelight, out of time or out of mind, classless if not casteless. "Primitive means complex," declares Jerome Rothenberg in his revolutionary book, *Technicians of the Sacred*. Nonetheless, what is alien in the primitive jibes with modern Angst. *The Tablets* are a handcrafted "artifact" so self-conscious of its iconography that it creates a vatic space—filled, for the moment, with a dark, unrepressed laughter.

When, having pre-empted the office of the reader, the scholar-translator decries "the first recorded socialist voice in human history," and applauds it, we lament that we cannot give it all back to the Indians. We are ready to affirm the prophesied extinction of our own consciousness in our own century. But that consciousness and its indwelling language is still our only instrument of criticism or communion.

Surely the 1960s began with a suspicion that the quality of artistic freedom was enormously inhibited. *The Domesday Dictionary*, which Schwerner wrote with Donald Caplan in 1961, was an inventory of the foreclosures that the cold war and Freudian determinism had inflicted on the modern temper. Moreover, the aesthetics of apocalypse had by that time been rationalized. The "end of ideology" permitted the unrestrained meshing of symbolism with the suffering ego. Exiling ego and symbolism from his first book of poetry, *The Lightfall* (Hawk's Well, 1963), Schwerner presented an expressionistic drama composed of meditative improvisations.

In 1968 Schwerner published with the Black Sparrow Press a "window" poem entitled *If Personal*. It has blank manipulable sheets between the pages, which the poet directs the reader to use "ad lib," i.e., by choice and by chance. The number of readings, while theoretically infinite, depends on the reader's willingness to engage the work. Such ad lib operations can be unnerving; resolution is never forthcoming though always imminent. One must "find" meaning.

If meaning here is the imaginative extension of coarse materials, we are close to Stevens' dictum in "Modern Poetry": "The poem of the mind in the act of finding/what will suffice." This

has always been vital to Schwerner's workings and makings. His third book, *Seaweed*, contained some striking poems, anterior, as it were, to their own apparent content, preludes evoking the occasional poem. Now, poems occasioned by events in the world are flawed by infidelity to both the communal emotion and the imaginative strictures of the art. So the occasions in *Seaweed* have to the poems the same relation that Stevens' titles have to his poems: a displacement that impeaches causality. Stevens' titles and Schwerner's occasions have the cranky obtrusiveness of the found. The evocation of the art of translation in *The Tablets* is a similar displacement.

Stevens' "Modern Poetry" ends by stating that the act of the mind "must be the finding of a satisfaction." One might assume the world abounds with poetries. One might "find" meaningfulness in kinetic disorder. One might find poems but not satisfaction. At that point one might find boredom.

Schwerner has seized the contemporary phenomenon of boredom as a fulcrum for much of his art: not to impose it or explore it but as a void from which real meaning and satisfaction might start. Boredom is a species of frustration, just as the failure of courage is the failure of imagination. Boredom, in its connection with anxiety, is the analogue if not the corresponding motive of dread in the primitive that sought expression in art. The unnamed protagonist in *Tablet VIII* must suffer his own dread inertia before delivering a magical curse on his enemies. Boredom is awe, restraint and repression. The ritual naiveté with which we approach the drama of modern art involves a profound distancing. Sublimation here defeats the possibility of renaissance. It does not satisfy. It does not revolutionize.

Current stylistic vagaries in poetry—the one-sided parenthesis, spatialization, the virgule—indicate intense awareness of levels of consciousness, speech and emotion. The sheer Americana of this gadgetry betrays a certain transcendentalism. These are the lineaments of boredom and alienation, and Schwerner liberates them, I think, by exploiting their manifest absurdity. Vast numbers of lines are designated as either missing, untranslatable or confusing. The apogee occurs in *Tablet X*, which consists of twenty-three lines rendered as untranslatable except for two words in the exact center: "the the"—a visual pun that recalls for me the last line of Stevens' "Man on the Dump": "Where was it one first heard of the truth. The the." This is no overt allusion. *The Tablets* are thus another attempt to move language and poetry further from repressive conven-

tion: to make it new. Accordingly, the text is a catalogue of disjunctions. Indiscretion is information nowadays, and, as they say, information is energy. The news. The energies of *The Tablets* are erotic. Their fierce pathos suggests that Schwerner must turn pathos into passion, possibly in the next cycle, "The Filling, or the Holy Giving of the Self." □

Book Marks

CAREY McWILLIAMS

ENOUGH OF DYING! Voices for Peace. *An Anthology edited by Kay Boyle and Justine Van Gundy*. Dell Publishing Co. 351 pp. Paper \$1.25.

The editors of this wide-ranging anthology have sought to "give peace a substance." Included are excerpts from stories, novels, essays, letters, biographies, plays and some sixty-two poems. The selections range from Mark Twain and Leo Tolstoy to Denise Levertov and Hans Magnus Enzensberger. The poetry selections are particularly good. Included are two widely anthologized *Nation* articles, one by Bertrand Russell, one by Ronald Sampson.

THE ACCELERATION OF HISTORY. By Gerard Piel. Alfred A. Knopf. 369 pp. \$8.95.

A collection of recent addresses and essays by the publisher of *Scientific American* dealing with some critically important conflicts—political, economic, ethical—that flare along the boundary of science and society. Of particular interest: "Economic Development by Democratic Planning," "Second Thoughts on Birth Control" and "The Treason of the Clerks," an excellent statement of the consequences of financing scientific research by funds from so-called mission-oriented agencies.

ARRIVING WHERE WE STARTED. By Barbara Probst Solomon. Harper & Row. 261 pp. \$6.95.

An extremely interesting segment of autobiography, "the Spanish part" of the author's life. Not about the Spanish Civil War, of which she had no first-hand experience, but full of insight about the children of that war, "the most fratricidal war in history, and it was the fratricide that made it a brutal scar. Our own Civil War at least had a geographical separation, and even then left many wounds. To the children of the Spanish Civil War, the war of their parents

had been an act of sheer, inexplicable murder." The author has written for *The Nation*.

WHY THEY CALL IT POLITICS: A Guide to America's Government. By Robert Sherrill. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 306 pp. Paper \$3.95.

A new style text or guide in which *The Nation's* Washington correspondent gives the inquiring student a realistic tour of government in Washington, as observed at close range: the Presidency, the military, Congress, the Supreme Court, the bureaucracy, the press, the Federal Reserve and other agencies related to the process by which things get done and people shoved around. A tough-minded guide, a most useful corrective to the more conventional variety.

THE SUPERLAWYERS. By Joseph C. Goulden. Weybright and Talley. 408 pp. \$8.95.

A fine study by one of the country's ablest investigative reporters of "the small and powerful world of the great Washington law firms." Like Sherrill's study, an excellent guide to the way the government really runs and who runs it. The author is a frequent *Nation* contributor.

ALL THE LIVES I HAVE LIVED. By William J. Fielding. Dorrance & Co. 220 pp. \$5.95.

An interesting offbeat autobiography by a man who has indeed lived several lives: an early Socialist, rationalist, active in the beginnings of the birth control movement, who spent fifty years with Tiffany & Co.! Contains an interesting chapter on Margaret Sanger's early activities, which now seem quaint beyond description and almost lost in the mists of time. At a meeting at Town Hall, November 13, 1921—not so long ago as historians measure time—Monsignor Dineen, acting on the orders of Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes, gave orders to Captain Donahue of New York's Finest to close the birth control meeting, and he did. The meeting marked a turning point in the history of the birth control movement; the publicity was invaluable. The author's first published article appeared in *The Nation* (November 8, 1919) and it is a pleasure to report that it was quite a good piece.

MODERN CHINA: The Story of a Revolution. By Orville Schell and Joseph Escherick. Alfred A. Knopf. 160 pp. \$4.95.

Now that China is "in" so to speak,

the number of books about every aspect of Chinese history, culture and society is certain to reach vast proportions—by way of making up for this country's long neglect of its old friend and ally. This is an excellent brief account of the Chinese Revolution with photographs and illustrations. One of the authors, Orville Schell, is a *Nation* contributor.

REPUBLIC OR EMPIRE: American Resistance to the Philippine War. By Daniel B. Schirmer. Preface by Howard Zinn. Schenkman Publishing Co. 308 pp. \$8.95. Paper \$3.95.

A good account of the "anti-imperialist" movement of the turn of the century. As Howard Zinn points out, the book corrects the historic imbalance in which the war against Spain became "a splendid little war" to which the ugly sequel of the taking of the Philippines was "a shadowy anti-climax." Had this chapter in our history been better known, perhaps American opinion would have reacted more quickly than it did to the war in Vietnam.

OILSPILL. By Wesley Marx. Sierra Club Books. 139 pp. Paper \$2.75.

Fifth in the important series of Sierra Club Battlebooks. The series is well-named. Each volume deals with an important current "battle" to save the environment—more accurately, to beat back efforts to despoil it. The author is a frequent *Nation* contributor.

WILL THE REVOLUTION SUCCEED?: Rebirth of the Radical Democrat. By Edward Schwartz. Abelard-Schuman/Criterion Books. 204 pp. \$5.95.

A reinterpretation of the native American radical tradition by a young radical. A healthy sign that an attempt is being made to rethink aspects of American radicalism. A section of the work first appeared in *The Nation*.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans. By Maisie and Richard Conrat. California Historical Society. 120 pp. \$12.50. Paper \$4.95.

A photographic documentary of the mass evacuation and internment of the West Coast Japanese during World War II. Included are sixty-five black-and-white photographs, many by Dorothea Lange, which provide a graphic and moving record of a stupid and cruel "episode" in American history. The volume contains an introduction by the authors, a foreword by Edison T. Uno, who spent

A SPECIAL PLEA TO OUR READERS

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four years in one of the ten "relocation centers," an essay by Donald Pike and Roger Olmsted reviewing the historical background, and a most interesting epilogue by former Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark in which, to his credit, he admits that the evacuation program represents "a sad day in our constitutional history." As Civilian Coordinator for General DeWitt, Commanding General, Western Defense Command, Justice Clark played a key role in the process which culminated in the issuance of Executive Order 9066. Perhaps Earl Warren will now be inspired to write his own *mea culpa*.

On January 5, 1972, the photographs were exhibited at the University Art Museum in Berkeley and the M.H. De Young Museum in San Francisco, and have since been shown elsewhere. It is unfortunate that the paintings of the distinguished Nisei artist, Mine Okubo, based on her experiences and observations in a relocation center, could not be included; perhaps in future showings they can be. Her book of drawings about

the evacuees and their experiences, *Citizen 3660* (1946) is now a rare collector's item.

LATE AFTERNOON FOR THE NATION-STATE. By Sam Darcy. *Cromwell Books*. 408 pp. \$8.95.

A fresh look at the problem of the nation-state in the age of nuclear power politics, by an American radical of Marxist training and background. Nations will endure, the author feels, but the absolutism of nation-states is already passé. Genuine international cooperation will come only as democratic decision making replaces decision making by national bureaucracies. Provides a good background against which to appraise the recent summits.

EDUCATIONAL VOUCHERS: Concepts and Controversies. Edited by George R. La Noue. *Teachers College Press, Columbia University*. 176 pp. \$8.50. Paper \$3.50.

A valuable guide to the highly controversial "voucher" plan: concepts, court decisions, documents, Congressional hearings, and editorial commentary. The editor has written for *The Nation* on church-state issues.

BLACK STRUGGLE: A History of the Negro in America. By Bryan Fuls. *The Delacorte Press*. 340 pp. \$4.95.

A useful book written to provide young people with some understanding of racial strife and its background in America.

RIO GRANDE WETBACKS: Mexican Migrant Workers. By Carroll Norquest. *University of New Mexico Press*. 160 pp. \$4.95.

A realistic account of Mexican migrant workers by a Texan who farms 120 acres in the Rio Grande Valley—almost a nonfarm by Texas standards. Norquest is a fair-minded man, observant, shrewd, friendly. Much has been written about "the wetback problem" but little about the migrants themselves, and virtually nothing, prior to the appearance of this volume, by an employer.

"FREE ENTERPRISE": The Opium of the American People. By Victor Lebow. *Oriole Editions*. 145 pp. \$4.50 Paper \$2.50.

A sardonic examination of the morals, ethics and motivations of the American private enterprise system. The author—it should be emphasized—has had a long and successful career in business. "What

this book attempts to demonstrate," he writes, "is that the American corporation is incompetent to deal with the problems it has created for our society. It . . . [also shows the] enormous debt American business owes this society. . . . Businessmen these days have been waxing oratorical over their assumption of social responsibility. But . . . the stubborn fact is that without compulsion their words will not be translated into deeds." The author is a *Nation* contributor.

SCHINDLER. By David Gebhard. *Preface by Henry Russell Hitchcock. The Viking Press*. 216 pp. \$7.95. Paper \$3.95.

An admirable study of the theories and achievements of Rudolph Schindler who, with Richard J. Neutra, brought modern architecture to Southern California in the early 1920s. The author is director of the Art Galleries, the University of California at Santa Barbara. The work contains a list of Schindler's major buildings and projects, a bibliography, numerous drawings and architectural plans and many fine photographs. Of particular interest is a chapter on "Opportunity: California in the Twenties," which provides a vivid and perceptive account of the circumstances, environmental and social, that did indeed create an extraordinary opportunity for architectural innovation.

* * *

Books about Chicanos constitute a new growth sector of American publishing. Some recent titles that merit attention by those interested in the subject are: *Los Chicanos: una minoría nacional explotada*, by Gilberto López y Rivas (published by Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, Avenida Universidad 771, Despachos 402-403, Mexico 12, D.F.); *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans*, by Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera (Hill & Wang, 212 pp. \$8.95. Paper \$2.65); and *Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today*, edited by Edward Simmen (a Mentor Book, New American Library, 348 pp. Paper \$1.25). This last contains articles from *The Nation* by Clark Knowlton and Ronald B. Taylor and reprints an editorial from this magazine. *Chicano Literature: Text and Context*, edited by Antonia Castañeda Shuler, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto and Joseph Sommers (Prentice-Hall, 368 pp. \$7.95. Paper \$3.95). A valuable anthology—poems, fiction, letters, documents, narratives—covering the entire range of Chicano experience. Good selections, skillfully edited. Prepared primarily for the Chicano reader but of general interest. Texts not originally written completely or partly in English are accompanied by English translations. Some stand alone in their Spanish or largely Spanish version. □

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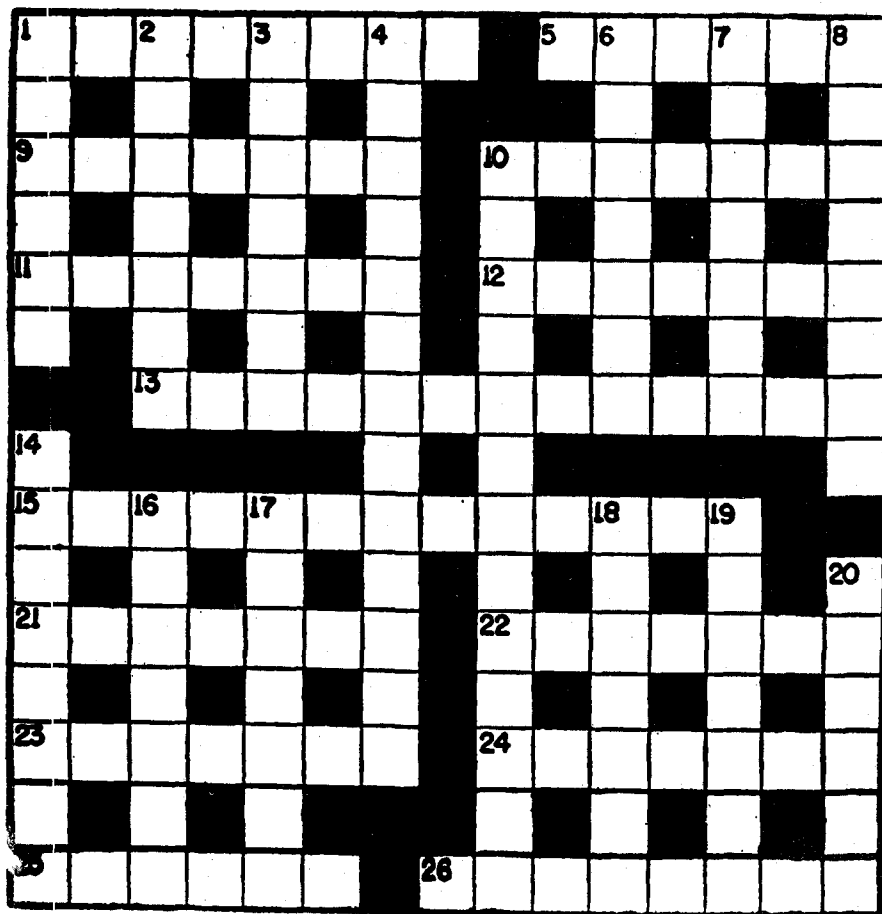
HUMANISM: Position of Buckminster Fuller, Carl Rogers, Erich Fromm, B. F. Skinner, Thomas Szasz, Julian Huxley, Bertrand Russell, is a complete philosophy and movement for humane social action. Free information. **American Humanist Association**, Dept. TN, Box 7692, San Francisco, CA 94120.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 1448

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 They cut up a good deal—and especially 26. (8)
- 5 It might follow up something about the wagon when it comes back. (6)
- 9 Built up faith, perhaps, in the unschooled, if I educated them. (7)
- 10 Were his writings as drawn-out as he? (7)
- 11 This old game must have been devilish to play. (7)
- 12 Not an Irishman's brouhaha—as much as one might love Ireland! (7)
- 13 Has its ups and downs in the amusement business. (6, 7)
- 15 His isn't the gossip of St. James—in case he takes things down (5,8)
- 21 Did one reach the heights on the musical stage? (7)
- 22 Such a game wouldn't be benefited by too many of them! (7)
- 23 Lightest of all metals. (7)
- 24 One might find it a tree to go over and over. (7)
- 25 Plot and plan. (6)
- 26 Perhaps known for the work he didn't finish. (8)

DOWN

- 1 Kipling's were lesser without the law. (6)
- 2 Not the sort you can cut with a knife, as in some crowded lounge. (4,3)

- 3 For lubricating locks? (4,3)
- 4 The message seems to imply a deal more grit! (13)
- 6 Such an event has a regular beginning, at going down and at coming up. (7)
- 7 Driven by Auriga? (7)
- 8 The color that suggests stop and go, for the flier. (8)
- 10 One not likely to enjoy good health. (13)
- 14 Such as a cinematic Rosebud around part of your sleeve engaged in a little struggle. (8)
- 16 Make modern. (7)
- 17 What a rat might be doing should prove effective. (7)
- 18 The rather impolite contents of an overseas letter for a foreign politician. (7)
- 19 Cut loose and see real changes! (7)
- 20 Does it imply an uplift such as a perfume might give? (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1447

ACROSS: 9 Boar; 10 Night; 11 Sick; 12 Certain; 13 and 28 What You Will; 15 Flambeau; 16 Dabble; 18 Verses; 21 Osculate; 26 Ballets; 29 Arras; 30 Ibex; 31 Sentimental; DOWN: 2 Hard Times; 3 Genuine; 4 Orgy; 5 Notched; 6 Upset; 7 Boreal; 8 Scroll; 14 and 24 Out of context; 17 Balalaika; 19 Exotic; 20 Sextant; 22 Chanson; 23 Tatter; 25 Tulle; 27 and 1 From the ground up.

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